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Croatia, Bosnia Presidents Open Talks in Geneva

LD2712171492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Dispatch from Geneva by correspondent Andjelko Perincic]

[Excerpts] Summit talks between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina have been held in the UN seat in Geneva. The delegations were headed by Presidents Franjo Tudjman of Croatia and Alija Izetbegovic of Bosnia, and the organizers and mediators at the talks were cochairmen of the peace conference Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen. Mate Boban, representative of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, also took part in the meeting.

After the meeting, Lord Owen's spokesman Fredric Eckhard said that in addition to the joint talks, Presidents Tudjman and Izetbegovic held private talks, and that they discussed the setup of Bosnia-Hercegovina and solutions for the territorial division of our neighboring country. Eckhard said that a certain amount of progress was made. [passage omitted]

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman made a brief statement after the talks. He stressed that the stands of Croatia and the cochairman [Lord Owen] are quite similar, and that those of Croatia and the Bosnian Muslims have converged. He also said that the talks will continue.

TANJUG Reports on Talks

LD2712214292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2104 GMT 27 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Geneva, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Spokesman for the cochairmen of the international conference on former Yugoslavia Fred Eckhard said on Sunday [27 December] that representatives of the Republic of Croatia and those of Bosnian Moslems have brought their stands towards the future organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina closer together.

Progress was made but an agreement was not yet reached, said Eckhard after cochairmen Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen conferred on Sunday with Croatian President Franjo Tudjman and leader of Bosnian Moslems Alija Izetbegovic.

Five hours of talks, including at first the separate and then joint discussions, were aimed at setting the stage for a meeting in Geneva next January between the leaders of Bosnia's Serbs, Croats and Moslems and Belgrade and Zagreb Government envoys.

Eckhard said that the progress made at the talks was seen in the fact that this time both sides at least abandoned their initial positions.

Bosnian Croats had originally proposed a division of Bosnia-Hercegovina into two or three provinces, the Moslems into 14 regions. There are prospects for this span to be reduced to between five and seven provinces.

The starting point for territorial division were historical, economic, ethnic and other criteria. The cochairmen, said Eckhard, favour evading a purely ethnic division of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Eckhard cautioned that Bosnian Serbs, irrespective of an accord by the Croatian and Moslem sides, were demanding a state community of their own to be formed.

Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats have already formed their own state communities within former Bosnia-Hercegovina—the former set up the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina (R.S.) and the latter formed Herceg-Bosnia.

Eckhard said that the Croat-Moslem accord on a 'single map' does not place Serbs before the finished fact and that negotiations were yet to be held about the future state organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Talks between the cochairmen and Moslem and Croatian delegations (the Croat delegation comprises also leader of Bosnian Croats Mate Boban) would resume on Monday after Tudjman's and Izetbegovic's separate talks with U.N. Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

On Monday, Butrus-Ghali will also hold talks with President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) Dobrica Cosic who arrived in Geneva on Sunday. They would confer about the sanctions against the F.R.Y. and the situation in the Serbian province of Kosovo-Metohija.

The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina would highlight talks between Cosic and Tudjman who were reported to meet on Monday.

Ministry Spokesman Reviews Foreign Policy

AU2512183692 Tirana ATA in English 1122 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—I would consider as successful the intensive activity of the Albanian diplomacy for the period December 14-18, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry Myftar Gjana said in the press conference organized on December 24.

Regarding the question of Albania's integration in Europe, he mentioned the official request of Albania for membership in the NATO during the successful visit of President Berisha in Brussels, the new financial support from the European Community, and the visit of the Italian President Scalfaro in Albania, which are a further step of Albania in the relations with the united Europe.

In regard to the question of national security and with the question of Kosovo, Mr. Gjana spoke of the political support of the CSCE for a UN presence in Kosovo, the further intensification of the preventive measures for the non extension of the conflict in Kosovo and the region, etc. He mentioned also the international documents on the coming status of Kosovo, the formulations of the document after the Stockholm meeting, and the conclusion of the peace conference in Geneva for a resolution of the Council of Security on the status of Kosovo, suggesting a negotiated autonomy. In this aspect, he said: An ever greater international support is noticed for our viewpoint that the conflict in Kosovo should not be tolerated, because it will have regional consequences. This may be reached by adopting greater preventive measures.

Then Mr. Gjana responded the questions of the reporters on these questions and other problems of our region.

Delegation To Attend Conference on Yugoslavia

AU2612151992 Tirana ATA in English 0926 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 26 (ATA)—Albania is reported to take part in the Steering Committee of Geneva Conference, as a full rights member and representative of the neighbouring countries of former Yugoslavia, which are not members of European Community.

Considering Albania's participation in Geneva conference as a special chance to contribute, together with the other countries, to the halting of conflict in Bosnia-Hercegovina, our delegation will aim at finding peaceful solutions and establishing peace and stability in former Yugoslavia, the Foreign Ministry press spokesman, Mr. Myftar Gjanaj, said.

He also presented some projects of the performance of the Albanian representatives in Geneva.

The Albanian delegation will support the activity of the two chief-negotiators of the conference, Vance and Owen, in reaching an understanding between the parties involved in the conflict. It will cooperate and insist in fully implementing the agreements and advance them so as to halt bloodshed as soon as possible. Taking into account the danger of a conflict escalation in other regions, respectively in Kosovo, Macedonia, and in the Balkan neighbouring countries, the Albanian delegation will support any initiative to strengthen the existing preventive measures and undertake further steps in this relation, especially in Kosovo's territory. It will try to halt by all peaceful means the ethnic purge and colonizing policy exercised in Kosovo through the artificial and massive settlements of Serb settlers.

In conformity with the EC and CSCE decisions, Albania will insist that continuous long-term missions be sent to Kosovo and other regions with Albanian residents to observe the suspicious and dangerous military activity, to gather facts on the grave violation of the human rights, and to consider the probability of a potential danger of a conflict outbreak, the spokesman of the Foreign Ministry stated among other things.

Deputies Criticize, Defend Foreign Minister

AU2512155192 Tirana ATA in English 1115 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—On December 24, the People's Assembly discussed for about 4 hours about the foreign policy of Albania. Speaking on behalf of the Socialist Party parliamentary group, Deputy Bashkim Zeneli presented the option of Albania's foreign policy, its adherence to the European structures and cooperation with the Euroatlantic ones. He criticised the Foreign Ministry for lacking an axis and long-term strategy of our foreign policy. He said: We have always been demanding that above all that in order to overcome the extremely tense situation in the Balkans, efforts should be made to reactivate the Balkan cooperation, good neighbourliness. He also pointed to the need for better relations with Germany, France, England, Spain, Scandinavian countries, U.S.A., etc. The deputy also said that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has also not been attentive to the defence of the citizens' rights, who have legally and illegally emigrated. Mr. Zeneli asked for a motion of non-confidence for the foreign minister.

The chairman of the Socialist Democratic Party group, Teodor Laco, said that foreign policy should be always present in the parliament. He considered the policy pursued by the government as new, open, and serious. In the end he expressed himself against the motion.

Deputy Thoma Mico said in his contribution that the Foreign Ministry has made efforts to present its problems to the world, unlike the previous governments. He demanded transparence in the parliament and a more extensive information in the respective commission regarding problems of foreign policy. Mr. Mico hailed the opening of late of the 3 border points of Albania with Macedonia and demanded that such a point be also opened in the south of the country.

The chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the People's Assembly, the Deputy Eduard Selami, said in his address that the motions are useful, but not as the one we had today. Its aim is to create destabilization and turbulences in the region. He spoke on the functioning of the commission, cooperation with Foreign Ministry, the government, and president, bringing concrete examples of the efficiency of that cooperation.

The parliament, he said, has discussed and decided for the program of the government and the majority has expressed its opinion. Some shortcomings are consequence of the 50 years abortive policy, but still there are things to be corrected.

The chairman of the parliamentary group of the Democratic Party, Ali Spahia, said that the aim of the socialist deputies is to hit the parliament and the government, the stability in the country and the democratic road.

Mr. Alfred Serreqi, foreign minister, took also the floor in that session. Our ministry, he said, has applied the program of the democratic government and the orientation of the foreign policy is the protection of the interests of the Albanians and the national interests. Further on the minister spoke of the efforts made to reform and restructure the ministry and the Albanian embassies. He brought facts from the achievements of the Albanian diplomacy. The policy followed in these months, he said, is a further step of Albania in international relations.

At the end, after numerous discussions, the chairman of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, the Deputy Namik Dokle, presented the request for a motion of non-confidence towards the Minister of Foreign Affairs Alfred Serreqi. Among the reasons he mentions the non presentation yet to the parliament of the platform of the foreign policy of the Albanian state, the lack of an axis, unmatured acts in the foreign policy, a disregarding stand of the Foreign Ministry towards the parliament, the lack of transparence, etc. He demanded a voting no later than 3 days.

Further on, the parliament examined and passed the draft law for a supplement in the Law on the Customs' Tariffs. After discussions, the deputies adopted it in principle, voted the two articles and in general.

Deputies Discuss Privatization of State Dwellings

AU2512154492 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 24 (ATA)—Today before noon the People's Assembly discussed the draft law on the privatisation of the state dwelling houses. This important long-expected draft law makes possible for the hitherto hirers to become owners of the houses they are already using. This is considered as the first step of creating the market of the dwelling houses.

At the beginning of the sitting, the Minister of Construction and Territorial Arrangement Ilir Manushi responded the numerous questions put by the deputies. He explained that with this draft law the government does not undertake to solve the housing problem, but to find new possibilities to solve it in the future. He explained that the houses will be given free of charge to the former political prisoners.

Then they discussed the draft law in principle. On behalf of the Social Democratic Party parliamentary group, Deputy Gaqo Apostoli said that this is one of the most difficult and complicated laws, as the poor state and people are confronted. He appealed to make this law more humane and clearer and eliminate the contradictions that might emerge.

On behalf of the parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, Deputy Namik Dokle said that through the draft law presented, the government is sharing in the people's troubles. He also wanted to know what is being done with the unsheltered people and those who have bigger houses than needed and proposed that besides the former political prisoners the dwelling houses be also given free of charge to the war invalids and families of the martyrs.

On behalf of the Democratic Party group, Jemin Gjana, after criticising the hitherto policy pursued by the previous governments, said that the presented draft law is more complete and exact. Following the discussions of other deputies, the draft law was approved in principle and its approval article by article began.

The draft law clearly defines the criteria on privatising the state dwelling houses. Twenty-five percent of the houses to be privatised will be given to the citizens free of charge. The hirers are not forced to be owners of the house unwillingly.

Privatization Process Accelerates in Tirana

AU2512183192 Tirana ATA in English 1127 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 25 (ATA)—In the recent months, the process of privatization in the District of Tirana has been accelerated. So far, 927 trade units out of 1,109 that are altogether have been sold. In the enterprises of communal system 384 units have been privatized and 75 other objects have been sold. The reform is being applied also in the system of transport where 338 vehicles of various types have been sold mainly to the drivers who have them.

The auction method is being extensively used. In this way have been sold not only the means of transport but also other objects such as stores, various units, and others.

Nearly 1,400 various trade units, those of communal service have been privatized in Albania so far. The objects not yet privatized in the sector of communal service and transport will be privatized within next January.

Berisha, Officials Greet Democratic Youth Congress

AU2312151092 Tirana ATA in English 0916 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Tirana, December 23 (ATA)—This congress is the first and greatest gathering of the democratic youth. In this context the Youth Forum of the Democratic Party intends to strengthen and organize better the support the youth provides to democracy in Albania. From our generation will emerge the class of democratic politicians, fully freed from communist prejudices and devoted to the establishment of a pure free market system. This is what Mr. Arben Lika, chairman of the Youth Forum of the Democratic Party, said in his address. After presenting a retrospective overview of the student movement and the hardships of the democratic movement in Albania, he laid the stress on the shortcomings of the forum, which until lately was run by careerists and this weakened the role of this forum. Mr. Lika criticized the Democratic Party, too, for not taking the proper care of the students of December 1990 democratic movement at a time when the Socialist Party for its own strategy included some students in the multi name list of deputies. It is necessary, said he, to admit to Democratic Party student intelligentsia which was capable to overtopple the 50 year long communist dictatorship and it should also make efforts to translate into reality its aspirations.

This is understandable as long as the younger generation accounts for 70 percent of the Democratic Party and electors. On behalf of the Democratic Youth, he judged positive the achievements of the Meksi administration on the economic plane and in the relations with foreign countries. He warned that without a further deepening of the economic reform, particularly the administrative one, the realization of its program is impossible. He demanded the reform in the organs of justice and particularly the application of the decree of the president for the verification of wealth accumulated during the transition period.

Eduard Selami, chairman of the Democratic Party of Albania, greeted the congress. He accepted the suggestions made by Mr. Lika and assured that the Democratic Party will multiply efforts to create the genuine image of democracy in Albania and this means also the promotion of the reform in the whole life of the country. He accepted that more youngsters will be represented in the power organs and legislative ones.

Mr. Arbnori greeted on behalf of the Presidency of the People's Assembly and Mr. Michel Cosmala greeted on behalf of the Hans Seidel Foundation. He said that this foundation will always be close to the Albanian youth, because it is certain that the Albanian youth will assure genuine progress of Albania. Delegates from different districts and other guests took the floor at the congress.

In the afternoon sitting, President Sali Berisha greeted the congress. He said among the other things: It is a particular pleasure to me I was given the chance to congratulate you. I would like to add to my greeting the wishes of all the Albanians who have turned their eyes on you. I also thank Hans Seidel Foundation, which sponsors this congress.

This congress coincided with the anniversary of the democratic movement, which overtoppled communism and aroused hopes for a free and democratic Albania. Two years ago Albania pinned hopes on you and you as heroes with the ideals of the freedom and democracy led the anti-communist movement. On this day we recall all those who were murdered, wounded, maltreated, or were forced to emigrate, who fought for a free and democratic Albania. Their performance gave Albania a human dimension before the world, the God. You were initiators of the progress and security for the future.

Our country is passing from the long communist night into the light of freedom and progress and today the Albanians face an historic test: Will we know to build new Albania or we will make a desperate attempt. The road is difficult but it can be overcome. The application of the reform calls for sacrifices. The reform is the sole road to the progress of the country. It will make Albania strong as you, prosperous as you, a pretty lady as Sami Frasheri wished it. I appeal to you to support the reform because you are its promoter. I trust you, I trust your strength and democratic culture. These features will bring you closer each other. The future belongs to you who fought and are still fighting, the past will fade away in the shadow of oblivion. The youth which defeated dictatorship is the tremendous hope of Albania, you are the most reliable forces to carry out your mission. So you are the hope of the whole Albania. God bless you.

Berov Continues Efforts To Form Cabinet

AU2612204192 Sofia BTA in English 2027 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—I hope that the cabinet proposed by me will receive the support of the majority in parliament, Prime Minister-designate Lyuben Berov (67) said in an interview on the Bulgarian National Television today. He will rely on votes from the three parliamentary groups—the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS) and part of the MP's of the formerly Communist Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP). He sees grounds for such support in the urgent need to overcome the cabinet crisis.

In order to be elected a cabinet has to receive the votes of more than half of the 240 National Assembly members. At present none of the three political forces represented in parliament holds a sufficient number of seats to elect a cabinet on its own. The future cabinet will have to rely of the support of at least two parliamentary groups.

Professor Lyuben Berov said that he is ready to hold talks with the leadership of the parliamentary group of the SDS as well as with the National Coordinating Council of the SDS. According to Professor Berov, though 72 MP's of the SDS have declared that they would not support his cabinet, many of them would actually do so.

In his interview Professor Berov said that a large part of the future cabinet ministers will not be bound to political organizations. He intends to include three or four ministers of the outgoing cabinet in his cabinet as well. According to Professor Berov, he is encountering the greatest difficulties in finding suitable candidates to head the Ministries of Defence, of the Interior, of Industry and of Trade. So far he has not received a final answer from Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev whether he would agree to keep this post in his cabinet as well.

In his interview Prof. Berov denied having suffered heart attacks.

In interviews aired tonight leaders of the SDS and the BSP expressed opinions on the possible formation of a cabinet by Prof. Berov. According to SDS Chief Secretary Ivan Kurtev, the majority of the SDS MP's would not support this cabinet. Prof. Berov could count on the support of 20 to 30 MP's of the SDS, according to Ivan Kurtev. BSP Leader Zhan Videnov stated that the final stand of his party would be announced after Prof. Berov presents his programme declaration and the composition of his cabinet. According to him, this would take place on Tuesday [29 December] morning. Prof. Berov could count on the support of the BSP if the future cabinet team includes representatives of the Socialists but what is most important is that he provides guarantees for a change in the policy of the government.

An open letter of Zhan Videnov to Lyuben Berov was circulated today. In it the leader of the Socialists demands guarantees against Bulgaria's involvement in a regional conflict, against the "anti-constitutional persecutions for political reasons" and against crime and corruption. In his letter Zhan Videnov asks the prime minister-designate whether he would assist the introduction of corrections to governmental decisions on restitution, privatization and the agrarian reform. He also asks Prof. Berov whether he would assist the stopping of "the cases of a purposeful Turkicization of the population" in Bulgaria's mixed-population regions.

SDS Ministers Agree To Serve in Berov Cabinet

AU2712180792 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Professor Lyuben Berov, candidate for the post of prime minister on the basis of the mandate of the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS], said today that ministers Rumen Bikov and Aleksandur Aleksandrov have agreed to participate in his cabinet, as well as Kiril Ignatov, chairman of the Doctors Union.

Prof. Berov hopes that a final conversation with Minister Stoyan Ganev will produce positive results. BTA reported a few moments ago that Minister Stoyan Ganev returned to Sofia, but refused to answer the question whether he will agree to participate in Prof. Berov's cabinet.

Prof. Lyuben Berov is presently meeting with representatives of the parliamentary factions and trade unions so that he can acquaint them with his program declaration. He will hold consecutive meetings tomorrow with the parliamentary factions of the Bulgarian Socialist Party, DPS, and eventually, the Union of Democratic Forces, which has still not given a final answer to his invitation.

Article Urges 'Government of Responsibility'

AU2812113392 Sofia PRAVA I SVOBODI in Bulgarian 18 Dec 92 p 1

[Reni Georgieva article: "Responsibility Is the Most Precise Formula"]

[Text] On 15 December, the day the president entrusted the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] with the exploratory mandate to form a new cabinet, a group of newspapers, which at first sight have nothing in common, published identical front page headlines, as if they had been given a sign to do this. They all invoked the so-called "pressure" on the part of the DPS aimed at forcible Turkicization in several municipalities. It is a completely different issue as to whether there really is such a problem in the Blagoevgrad region municipalities, as mentioned in the reports. After all, a special commission has been appointed to study the issue. The interesting point is that all the "facts" were published simultaneously, and that the information used was almost identical. This could hardly fall into the category of the "proper tone," for which the DPS has already been appealing for several months.

To this we could add the strange, to put it mildly, behavior of certain leaders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] coalition, who, ignoring the opinions and interests of their members, opposed the talks with the DPS. However, the fact that the large majority supports such talks and is inclined toward a reasonable compromise inspires optimism. Thus, both the Radical-Democratic and the Democratic Parties, and especially the Alternative Socialist Liberal Party, have expressed support for the talks within the framework of acceptable concessions.

The DPS has never had a different position, either now or in the past, when the coalition, burdened by its own mistakes, could not find a proper solution, and, as could have been expected, the government fell. Certain political observers view the present situation as a continuation of the one that existed at the previous talks between the DPS and the SDS, but point out that now, however, conditions have deteriorated. Unfortunately, this applies to both sides.

Still, there was a positive side to the whole affair. During the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] mandate, it became clear that the party of competence [the BSP] cannot assume any responsibility. As its ideologist, Aleksandur Lilov, put it, it was tired of ruling. A journalist with a sense of humor pointed out that only Mr. Boyadzhiev gained anything from the affair, because now he knows what his wife thinks of him.

The holidays and a new cabinet lie ahead. Let us hope that a new cabinet really will be formed, because our impoverished country needs stability if it is to succeed. There is a good chance to achieve this if the politicians understand that politics is the art of compromise. This was said many centuries ago. An entire nation is looking at you, you uncompromising politicians! Do we not all want a prosperous state? Do we not all want to avoid the crisis of future Balkan instability? Listen to the voice of prudence, our common interests, and all those factors which made the EC accept us as a fully fledged member. [sentence as published]

A government of responsibility is the most precise formula for saving our unstable country, which we love so much.

Zhelev Says Renewed Totalitarianism Impossible

AU2812080792 Sofia BTA in English 0727 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 27 (BTA)—The outgoing political year passed under the sign of a consolidation of the state institutions and their efficient cooperation, President Zhelyu Zhelev said in a telephone interview for the national radio at noon today.

A restoration of totalitarianism in Bulgaria is out of question, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev said. According to him, communism is doomed and the problem is which political force will bury it. This political system will be buried by force of historical necessity by its products. But according to Dr. Zhelev, it is important who will execute the sentence. The Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) can do this more consistently and to a fuller extent than the former Communist Party and it would be sad if because of some political folly we allow others to complete what the SDS started, said the president, who is the founder and the first leader of the SDS. Recently, however, the contradictions between the president and the leaders of the SDS have intensified.

Asked about the future of private business in Bulgaria, the president said that the politicians are debtors to the fledgling private business in Bulgaria. "If we want it to realize all its potentials, we should provide it with the necessary legal, political and moral guarantees," Dr. Zhelev said. According to him, there are attempts to present private business as a mafia, which does not correspond to the truth. The presidency has received reports about companies related with crime but no proof of this has been provided. The president added that reliable barriers should be raised against the emergence of a mafia in Bulgaria.

Cabinet Discusses Various Social, Economic Issues

AU2312200292 Sofia BTA in English 1911 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 23 (BTA)—The outgoing Council of Ministers approved amendments to the Foreigners' Stay in Bulgaria Act. The amendments take into account the country's ongoing integration into European structures, the labour market and the right of asylum, a cabinet spokesperson reported.

The Council of Ministers approved the programme of the Privatization Agency for 1993. The programme envisages the privatization of 300 companies next year. Proceeds from privatization are expected to reach some 9,257 million leva and expenditure some 407 million leva.

The Privatization Agency plans to expand its scope privatizing companies in industry, agriculture, trade, tourism, construction, transport, posts and telecommunications. The agency does not envisage the privatization of producers of arms, military equipment and supples, chemical and radiation protection equipment, nuclear materials and facilities, oil refineries, ore and coal mines, quarries, electric power plants and railway transport as well as units included in the programme to restructure corporate debt into public.

The Council of Ministers amended the operative decree regulating import and export. The amendments replace many effective quotas and ceilings with export and import duties and raise export duties on bread and animal feed grain. The latter measure was prompted by the growing export of grain, which, according to the Ministry of Agricultural Development, should be

reduced due to the poor harvest this year. Operative export duties do not set any obstacles to large-scale grain export.

The Council of Ministers approved a decree which would regulate the import of cars as of January 1, 1993 in case parliament fails to pass amendments to the Turnover and Excise Duties Act. The amendments would replace excise duties on cars by import charges depending on vehicles' power.

The Council of Ministers heard reports from the ministers of transport and defence on financial provisions in connection with obligations on the European programme for harmonization of air traffic.

The Council of Ministers authorized the heads of the Power Engineering Committee and the National Electricity Company to coordinate an agreement on a 93-million dollar loan from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to complete units three and four of the Chaira hydroelectric station.

Interior Minister Surveys Struggle Against Crime

AU2812115392 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 18 Dec 92 p 1

[Interview with Yordan Sokolov, outgoing minister of internal affairs, by Evelina Koleva; place and date not given: "I Am Optimistic About the Struggle Against the Mafia"]

[Text] [Koleva] Several days ago you said that a demilitarization of the structures of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is necessary insofar as this does not affect the important functions of the ministry. What are the limits to the changes you propose?

[Sokolov] I mean the demilitarization of the central administration units. The very nature of their activity does not require a preservation of the status quo. Now, in many cases, two people—a civilian and a military officer—occupy the same office. This is excessive.

[Koleva] Could the adoption of the draft law on the police be delayed if the future cabinet includes mostly new members?

[Sokolov] No. The draft law is ready and the period for its discussion, which we gave to the regional directorates, has already expired. Next week the draft law will be submitted to the Council of Ministers and I do not envisage any delay.

[Koleva] Do you think that the state organs will succeed in frustrating the attempts of the mafia to penetrate various spheres?

[Sokolov] I am an optimist, but adequate, rapid, and firm measures must be adopted. Our society, including the mass media, must help us. At present, the mass media often dwell on the negative side of police actions, namely, whether a window was broken, or a door damaged, instead of looking at the important results. So far all their actions have been properly conducted and have produced positive results.... By this I mean actions against criminals and circles of criminal activity.

[Kolev] Nonetheless, the crime rate is rising and public criticism is often being directed against you personally!

[Sokolov] This is inevitable. Any minister of internal affairs would be subjected to the same treatment. The growth of the crime rate is not a Bulgarian but rather a worldwide phenomenon. Even in the developed countries the relative increase is much greater than in Bulgaria. I do not say this in order to justify myself. Everything comes down to the means, because the wages of the Interior Ministry's employees must be increased and the equipment modernized. After all, we are waging a struggle against a financially powerful criminal phenomenon. The mafia represents a real danger for Bulgaria.

[Koleva] How did you react to the report about the attempt to poison [National Intelligence Service Chief] General Asparukhov?

[Sokolov] I do not have precise information, but as far as I know, Asparukhov himself claims that he drank a cup of coffee which had a strange taste. The two chemical substances mentioned have a powerful smell. Thus, it is hardly possible to consume them without noticing their smell. I think that there is a great mystery surrounding this poisoning. The appropriate authorities must carry out the necessary investigation.

[Koleva] Does the fact that the government resigned affect the work of the Governmental Commission on the Control of Military Production and Arms Trade?

[Sokolov] The commission, as well as the government itself, meets regularly, issues import and export licenses, and examines business offers. As you know, this is our constitutional obligation.

Decree on No-Agent Certificates Criticized

AU2412183592 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19-20 Dec 92 p 6

[Yakov Barukh commentary: "On Your Knees With 1,000 Leva in Your Hand"]

[Text] In the twilight of their political careers, the outgoing prime minister and his interior minister succeeded in bringing the parliament to its knees. They clearly explained to the parliament that there is nothing which could make them revoke the order on issuing no-agent certificates. In a generous mood, however, they recommended that the National Assembly adopt a law on declassifying the personal files so that the deputies would not feel isolated from the entire process.

Thus the cabinet replaced its right to legislative initiative with the right to use a legislative whip, thus leading the state toward a destination which was selected in advance.

Fanning the personal files affair apparently remained the only winning combination of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] in the last stage of the cabinet crisis. After the prime minister's decree, there practically is no difference at all whether the agreement with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] will include the declassification of personal files. There are 1,000 different ways of forcing every candidate for ministerial posts, every National Assembly member, or any notable party leader to head "for reasons of expediency" toward the Ministry of Interna! Affairs reception room with 1,000 leva in his hand. The outcome of the visit will naturally depend on Minister Sokolov!

There is a negative side to the government decree, because it creates the possibility of manipulating the political negotiations and decisions so that the outcome could serve not the interest of outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov, but the interest of the chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council, who also happens to be Filip Dimitrov.

Polls Cite Important Events of 1992

AU2612195792 Sofia BTA in English 1918 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—The fall of the cabinet of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), headed by Filip Dimitrov was the most important event in 1992, according to 42 percent of the respondents in a sociological poll the results of which were announced in this evening's Panorama political roundup show of the Bulgarian National Television.

According to 18 percent of the respondents, the most important event were the direct presidential elections in January won by philosopher Zhelyu Zhelev. For every sixth Bulgarian (15 percent of the respondents) the most important event in 1992 was Bulgaria's association to the European Community.

According to a poll conducted among politicians and sociologists by BTA, the most important event in 1992 is the continuing war in Yugoslavia. The respondents also mentioned the Maastricht Treaty, Bulgaria's admission to the Council of Europe, the presidential elections in the United States, the election of Radical Democrat Aleksandur Yordanov as National Assembly chairman, the almost two-month long political crisis in Bulgaria and the disintegration of the parliamentary coalition between the SDS and the ethnic Turks' Movement for Rights and Freedoms (DPS).

This evening's Panorama show also announced the results of a sociological poll conducted by the Sociological and Political Research Centre with the Sofia University among 100 prominent personalities and journalists. President Zhelyu Zhelev is once again the politician of 1992. He is followed by DPS leader Ahmed Dogan, National Assembly Chairman Aleksandur Yordanov, outgoing Prime Minister Filip Dimitrov and Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev. According to a poll conducted by the MBMD Institute for Marketing and Public Opinion Research, 52 percent of the Bulgarians believe President Zhelyu Zhelev to be the politician of 1992. He is followed by Filip Dimitrov and Stoyan Ganev with 14 percent each, Ahmed Dogan with 6 percent and Aleksandur Yordanov with 5 percent.

Democratic Party Chairman Distrusts DPS' Dogan

AU2312081692 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 15 Dec 92 p 10

[Interview with Stefan Savov, Democratic Party chairman, by Zhana Nikolova; date and place not given: "If They Get Rid of Me, They Will Make Sofia Senator for Life"]

[Text] [Nikolova] Mr. Savov, people say you consider that the results of the poll conducted among the local structures of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] were rigged, because 82 local branches of the Democratic Party support talks on forming a new cabinet and only 42 elections.

[Savov] Who, me? No, no. On the contrary, how could I question results computed by six or seven qualified computer experts?

[Nikolova] How did you accept the decision of the SDS national conference to hold talks with the Movement on Rights and Freedoms [DPS] on forming a coalition government?

[Savov] Why how? I do not understand the question.

[Nikolova] What is your personal opinion? Is this correct or not?

[Savov] A predominant majority supports the talks, but those must be talks under equal conditions.

[Nikolova] Does the Democratic Party support this decision?

[Savov] It is not the Democratic Party that is in question, but the SDS. Each party loses its identity as it were, because we are a coalition.

[Nikolova] Nevertheless, a part of your party and, as far as I know, you, personally, disagree with the "predominant majority."

[Savov] Where do you get your information? After all, our declaration clearly states that we support talks on the conditions stated. The interesting point is that all the conditions we included in our declaration were adopted by the conference.

[Nikolova] What do you expect from the talks with the DPS?

[Savov] In negotiations one must expect both the worst and the best, precisely as it is in love.

[Nikolova] Where you startled by Ivan Pushkarov's attempt at the conference to get rid of you?

[Savov] Look, I told those who tried to get rid of me that if they do they will make me Sofia, and perhaps Bulgaria, senator for life. My popularity will only increase if some of my friends, former party and Komsomol secretaries, try to get rid of me.... Do not forget that in two elections I was the man who received the greatest percentage of the SDS votes.

[Nikolova] The present situation resembles the time when the group of 39 emerged in the political arena....

[Savov] No, no, no.

[Nikolova] Will there be a second edition of the 39?

[Savov] First of all, the political arena is a cold place. Second, no one intends to repeat political events. Third, the important fact is that a declaration was adopted by a total consensus.

[Nikolova] Then why does your party not want to participate in talks with Dogan's people, or in an eventual government with the DPS?

[Savov] Simply because we do not trust people like Dogan and his friends.

[Nikolova] Vasil Gotsev, a member of your party, stated rather confidently that the SDS is heading for elections, because the DPS would never accept the conditions you posed. Are you preparing for new elections?

[Savov] For the time being I do not know. Why should we talk about it? We shall negotiate as long as this is commensurate with our dignity. After all, the conditions we posed are the within the borders of our interests and dignity.

Commentary Considers Prospects of Liberal Party

AU2412184192 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 19-20 Dec 92 p 6

[Emil Koen commentary: "The Chance of the Liberals"]

[Text] Liberalism seems to be extremely popular in our country, judging from the number of parties which claim to profess liberal ideas, the frequently used terms which evidently belong to the political vocabulary of liberalism, and from the statements of various politicians and party platforms. Well, if we examine the situation more closely, we will notice that considerable differences exist between the party headed by Nikolay Vasilev, and Yanko Yankov's party (although both of them define themselves as "liberal"). The difference is enormous, to the extent of mutual intolerance. As far as the Radical Democratic Party is concerned, apart from attending the sessions of the Liberal International, it proudly boasts to be the only champion of liberal ideas in Bulgaria.

Considering this abundance of liberalism, the chances of the new liberal formation which announces its forthcoming unification expected to take place on Sunday [date not specified] are problematic. If it manages to rally the intelligentsia—which was the actual founder of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]—and which has withdrawn in view of the union's current aggressive political behavior, if it succeeds in promptly building nationwide structures (considering that the four parties planning to unite are small and their state of organization is incomplete), if it succeeds in recruiting prestigious figures (and not just intelligent ones!), the new party is likely to present decent positions from the beginning. As a matter of fact, its actual credo will not only be the liberal idea, but a call for moderation on the present political scene, which has been torn apart by ideologically motivated extremism. Evidently, however, Dr. Zhelev appears to be the greatest "asset" of the uniting liberals, in case he should support them under any form whatsoever, which is most likely to happen. In such a case, the Liberals' chances of success in forthcoming elections would increase substantially.

EBRD Grants $132 Million for Privatization

AU2612172092 Sofia BTA in English 1643 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Sofia, December 26 (BTA)—Bulgaria has received about 132 million U.S. dollars in credits from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) which is considerably less than the credits granted to Poland, Romania and Hungary, the 24 CHASA private daily writes.

According to the bulletin of the National Bank of Bulgaria, the funds for Bulgaria were divided into three credits—a 49.2 million dollar credit for the Maritsa-Iztok 2 thermo-electric power station, a credit of 39.36 million dollars to posts and telecommunications and a credit of 43 million dollars for road construction. The funds which have been received are only for the public sector, 24 CHASA stresses because the Bulgarian investment projects in private business to not meet the requirements of the EBRD. According to 24 CHASA, the reason for Bulgaria's drop behind in attracting credits is the delay in real privatization.

The most favoured country, according to 24 CHASA, is Poland which has received 523.3 million dollars or 37.32 percent of the credits granted by the EBRD. It is followed by Romania with 291 million dollar credits. Hungary has received 273.06 million dollars in credits almost half of them being for the private sector. Only private business in Russia and Czechoslovakia has received credits from the EBRD, 24 CHASA writes.

Clinton's Foreign Policy Problems Assessed

LD2812141792 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Future U.S. foreign policy still looks like an equation with many unknowns. In his pre- and postelection speeches Bill Clinton has been emphasizing continuity as the basic principle in the sphere of international relations. The final activities of his predecessor, George Bush, are slowly drawing to a close in the White House and thus at least in the first weeks after Clinton's inauguration there certainly will be some continuity. Editor Karol Vlk now outlines that which is typical for the present interregnum period in the United States:

[Vlk] Of the many issues which both the 41st and 42d U.S. Presidents have to deal with in the foreign political sphere I will select only three in which Bill Clinton has no choice other than to continue the policy of his predecessor. All of them are equally prestigious for the world's leading political and economic power: they concern relations and activities toward Iraq, Russia, and Somalia.

Operation Restore Hope in the African country hit by two disasters—drought and civil war—drafted and implemented by the outgoing government leadership, is evoking lively debate. Unlike its clear humanitarian and prestigious aims, its political direction is not quite clear. It is possible that despite Bush's declarations that operations should be completed by 20 January, it may be a major task for Clinton to bring the military machinery home and some commentators hint that this task could be as complicated as the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam or Korea. The next few days will show whether these forecasts are justified. [passage omitted]

The third important issue where the new President will be taking his political test is the planned START II treaty which is to be signed next week in Sochi. [passage omitted]

According to the latest issue of TIME, Bill Clinton will open the Oval Office door at a very unstable time. He will have to deal with complications after the cold war and difficulties caused by economic recession. It is indeed too early to say today how much his foreign policy will resemble George Bush's generally successful activities.

Clinton's Choice of Christopher, Albright Viewed

LD2412154992 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton, who will take up his White House post on 20 January, introduced yesterday in Little Rock, Arkansas, new members of his future cabinet. In every government the foreign minister's post is one of the key appointments, and this is also true in the United States. The post of secretary of state—as the foreign minister's position is called in the United States—will be taken up by Warren Christopher. What does this mean for U.S. foreign policy? [Commentator] Boris Gandel has attempted to find the answer:

[Gandel] Bill Clinton's decision to name Warren Christopher as secretary of state was certainly not accidental nor surprising. This 67-year-old man is a seasoned politician with a good track record on the international political scene.

So far, the highest post he has held is that of deputy secretary of state in President Carter's administration. Carter recalls Christopher as the best public official he has ever known. He has not been praising Christopher accidentally, as it was Warren Christopher who played a key role in freeing 52 American hostages from Iran in 1981. His handwriting is also on the Panama Canal Treaty. Bill Clinton has called him a man with unparalleled judgement.

U.S. political circles were interested to hear yesterday about the important plans of the new head of the S. diplomacy. Warren Christopher made it quite clear:

[Begin Christopher recoring in English with superimposed Slovak translation] Nothing could be more wasteful than a new administration abandoning the constructive initiatives such as the Middle East peace talks and the security of operations in Somalia. [end recording]

[Gandel] No one doubts that Iraqi President Saddam Husayn will soom make an assessment of the new Clinton cabinet. No doubt this will be a tough test for Christopher who, until now, has been a man in the background.

Naturally, we are most interested in the position of the new U.S. Administration toward East and Central European countries and toward Yugoslavia. With the fall of the Iron Curtain many experts started forecasting victory for the Democrats, who focus more on the domestic situation. Naturally, neither Clinton nor Christopher can afford to make the mistake of not taking an interest in developments in this region. We can, however, assume that the George Bush administration has been more generous toward us than the new cabinet will be.

However, not everything needs to be as black as it may seem at first glance. Bill Clinton appointed Professor Madeleine Albright as U.S. envoy to the United Nations. She is of Czech origin. In her speech yesterday, she admitted her origin and recalled the history of her family which arrived in the United States in 1948. Her father was a diplomat, by the way. Bill Clinton paid tribute to Albright's knowledge of Eastern Europe. From this step we can deduce somewhat that our region will not be gathering dust on the map in Warren Christopher's study. At least we would like to believe this but it is quite probable, however, that the new government will be influenced by the interests of the considerably strong Jewish lobby. The true face of the new U.S. foreign policy will be shown in the near future. Let us hope that the words of some pessimists will not be confirmed—

according to them Bill Clinton is soon to discover that he is the first U.S. President in the second cold war era.

Meciar Says Consulate Bugging 'Cleared Up'

AU2412132992 Prague CTK in English 1612 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava Dec 21 (CTK)—Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar today had a two-hour meeting behind closed doors with U.S. Ambassador to Czechoslovakia Adrian Basora, Slovak Radio reported.

Asked by a radio reporter whether the bugging device found at the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava in November was discussed, Basora said he was not ready to talk on the topic.

Meciar said the matter has already been cleared up and it is no longer necessary to speak about it.

We have informed Mr Ambassador about all facts learnt by the Slovak Government, and promised not to publish the conclusions. Only the information gained by the Federal Interior Ministry will be released, Meciar said.

He dismissed as fairy-tales told by irresponsible people the claim by the Czech investigative weekly RESPEKT that the first information about the bugging was passed to the U.S. side by a staffer of the Slovak Interior Ministry.

Secrecy of Probe Into Bugging Case Criticized

AU2412161892 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 22 Dec 92 p 6

[Ivan Jemelka commentary: "Keeping a Lid on the Bugging Affair"]

[Text] According to Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak, the investigation of the affair of the bugging of the U.S. Consulate in Bratislava is fast approaching an end. Nevertheless, the six-member team led by Deputy Federal Interior Minister Stefan Lastovka is keeping a lid on the results of its work. Not even Federal Prime Minister Jan Strasky learned anything new at the Federal Government's last session, because Minister Cermak had to rush off to vote in the Czech National Council. Of course, such a thing will come out—particularly since the Slovak Ministry of the Interior appointed to the investigation team a former State Security officer. The Federal Ministry of the Interior is just shrugging its shoulders over this fact. According to the ministry, even this choice must be respected. It may be so, but the presence of the former State Security employee on the commission of inquiry could certainly cast doubts on the results of the investigation.

The suppression of information on such a scandal as espionage against the United States necessarily calls for conjectures. The news, for instance, that the American side was informed about the bugging of the Bratislava mission by an employee of the Slovak Interior Ministry directly contradicts what was submitted to the Federal Ministry of the Interior by the U.S. Nonetheless, whatever the source of this story, it is jeopardizing all the talks between the Czechoslovak state and the United States.

The latest details to be made public, although without any contribution from the investigators, claim that the technical documentation of the bugging system was not filed in Bratislava until 1990. This would mean that the Slovak employees of the Federal Interior Ministry did not obey the order of ex-Interior Minister Sacher, and did not point out the existence of the bugging of the U.S. mission building. Apart from the reference to the Federal Interior Ministry, however, this report does not add anything new to the question of who was using the system on 18 November 1992.

Minister Cermak promised to make the results of the investigation public before the end of the year. However, in order to prevent speculation of various kinds, he should keep citizens informed on the progress of the investigation as it continues.

Russian Arms Sales to Hungary Cause Concern

AU2312142392 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Dec 92 p 4

[TA SR report: "Jan Carnogursky After Talks in Moscow: Russia Will Sell $800 Million Worth of Weapons to Hungary"]

[Text] Moscow— Hungary has concluded an agreement with Russia on the sale of $800 million worth of weapons, Jan Carnogursky, chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement, declared in Moscow with reference to Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs sources. In an interview with a CTK correspondent, Carnogursky, who ended a visit to Russia yesterday, expressed concern about the threat of an arms race between Hungary and Slovakia.

The Hungarian military attache in Moscow yesterday confirmed to CTK the report about the signing of a contract for the delivery of $800 million worth of weapons but refused to specify the types of equipment concerned.

While in Moscow, Jan Carnogursky conducted talks with representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs and defense and with leading Russian political scientists.

After the CSFR's partition, Slovakia will take over $1.7 billion worth of claims toward Russia, which roughly corresponds to the size of Russia's former debt toward Hungary. Explaining his fears of an arms race, Jan Carnogursky declared that Russian experts had confirmed that they would sell weapons also to Slovakia.

He said that Russian representatives had assured him of Moscow's neutrality on the issue of Gabcikovo. As regards the possibility of Slovakia joining NATO in the

future, Jan Carnogursky said that Russia would view this "unkindly." According to Jan Carnogursky, the intensity of the CSFR's and the Czech Republic's and Slovak Republic's relations with Russia is weak, with Hungary and Poland being more active and more successful there.

Ethnic Hungarian Leader Views Minority Issue

AU2312151992 Budapest KOZTARSASAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 92 pp 129-131

[Interview with Miklos Duray, chairman of the Coexistence Party, by an unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Slovakia—Under the Political Christmas Trees"]

[Excerpts] In the separating CSFR, economic and political uncertainty casts a shadow on the holiday season. At the moment, there are no majority organizations in Slovakia to represent the national minorities, Miklos Duray told KOZTARSASAG. The only solution would be international guarantees. The issue of the power station is like a time bomb because it could even lead to a political explosion. [passage omitted]

[KOZTARSASAG] Can the economic and political problems be separated? Is it possible that, in spite of the political difficulties, the region will be in a better economic position?

[Duray] You cannot separate the two. The political movement that led Slovakia to independence does not have an economic concept. Therefore, economic problems almost automatically appear alongside these politics. On the one hand, Slovakia's economic structure developed to its current state during the communist era and, on the other, we do not have the means to change this structure. To tell the truth, there is no intention to change things because the various political groups want to use the existing structure either to strengthen their own position or weaken that of the others. They would all—especially the government party—like to win over the heavy industry lobby because, with its help, they could consolidate their power for a while. However, we must be aware that heavy industry has no future today, especially in a small country. The structure of heavy industry still reflects the armament needs of the former Warsaw Pact it was intended to serve. Therefore, its products are useless. Maintaining it will only exacerbate the economic problems and increase social tensions and problems. There will be a considerable increase in unemployment. The Slovak average is 13 to 14 percent, and it is close to 19 percent in certain areas, especially the ones inhabited by Hungarians, and this proportion will soon double. It is a big problem that there are plans to change unemployment benefits and give them to families rather than individuals, making them dependent on the family income. This way, if someone loses his job but the family income is above subsistence level, that person will not receive unemployment benefits. This would be a unique solution in Europe.

[KOZTARSASAG] What are the main current Slovak policies?

[Duray] The communist and national socialist elements almost supplement each other. Social demagogy and national demagogy are components of national socialism, and the central power is the communist element. After all, the new Slovak Constitution provides for the possibility of a central power. It seems to be cut out only for the current situation to give legal appearance to a central power, even one developing into a dictatorship. It makes various ways of protecting interests and the work of parties impossible.

[KOZTARSASAG] Recently, the leaders of Hungarians living in neighboring countries have formulated the autonomy needs of national minorities. What legal possibilities are provided for this in the new Slovakia?

[Duray] We usually talk about autonomy plans but I am afraid that this expression is deceptive. Views on autonomy are very different, both professionally and politically. Different approaches exist in the Felvidek ["Upper County," northern Hungary until 1920, now Slovakia], Vojvodina [Serbia], and Transylvania [Romania]. However, there is one thing common to the three areas—and we could include Subcarpathia here—namely that two factors exist in all areas that entitle the Hungarians to more than a minority self-government or autonomy. They all have areas where they are living in compact regions with developed political and social structures. They are able to fulfill an equal status. They have more social and political significance than the usual national minorities, and socially they deserve the same status as the majority. Therefore, in my view, the autonomy ideas should be modified in such a way as to ensure special protection for national minorities that are scattered or account for less than 50 percent of the population; and for those living in their own area—regardless of whether they represent the national majority or minority—a "partnership" should be ensured. We should make progress in the direction of a "partner nation" status, which would be legally and administratively defined. This would be the main guarantee protecting the numerical minority from the pressure of the majority, providing at the same time assurance for the country in question so that it need not worry about violation of its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This scheme would be the way to create Central European stability.

[KOZTARSASAG] Legislators in nation states that stipulate exclusiveness are unwilling to recognize proposals that weaken the unified national concept, for example the notions of "partner nation" or "national minority autonomy." Will the Hungarian minority be left on its own with these expectations or does it have supporters?

[Duray] In my view, in resolving this issue, we are right to demand international guarantees. It depends mainly on the political will rather than the legal will whether these will be established. Actually, there is no legal

framework for this in Slovakia. It would have to be created. In fact, it does not exist anywhere in the countries of the Carpathian basin. In Slovakia, the political will to settle this issue is lacking to such an extent that the legal security of national minorities is at an even lower level in the current constitution than it was in the communist era. As far as I can see, there are no such intentions in Romania, and the rump Yugoslavia does not have the political will, either. That is why international support and guarantees are needed.

There are solutions that could be taken as a starting point. I am thinking of West European examples where partnership was found to be the solution: Switzerland, where all nations are in a numerical minority compared with the Germans but they all have the same status. Belgium, where the Flemish and Walloon people live in a partnership, is another example. Although it is not a federation, the situation of the Swedes in Finland contains elements of equality; and the Danes in Germany and the Germans in Denmark have complete legal security. At the same time, we can also refer to the accepted international agreements: The Copenhagen Document of June 1990 is one example, the document drawn up in 1991 and accepted at the Geneva experts conference also contains such elements, as does the latest Council of Europe material which refers to regional or national minority languages. In the first instance this was signed by the five members that actually brought it into force, and countries have been signing it ever since. This document also has statements that strengthen this idea. It is true that I cannot really imagine an international agreement that would ensure partner nation status for Hungarians in Central European countries. However, I could see a scenario in which a central European settlement will probably take place—partly because of the collapse of Yugoslavia, the termination of the CSFR, and also in the case of Romania, there will be a need for some European political intervention if for no other reason than because of the integration of Moldova—and in one or two years the local processes will get to the stage when an international solution is needed and then the demands of national minorities can be settled. I have visited Western Europe several times and my experience is that they are all worried about Central Europe. They increasingly look upon the ethnic issues that are surfacing as a result of the transformation of the states as security problems. From being a human rights issue they are beginning to turn into a security issue, which, in my view, is a favorable change because they are treated more seriously and solutions are sought to resolve them. The movement is toward equality rather than separation. We must establish a Europe of equal nations.

[KOZTARSASAG] None of the countries you cited had a communist structure. Nevertheless, it was difficult to achieve autonomy. Is it possible to establish partner nation status or autonomy of the Hungarians in Slovakia without the votes of the Slovaks?

[Duray] Without the votes of the Slovaks it is probably impossible. However, it is possible that the political willingness for a settlement will develop. While no one knows how intentions, wishes, and social relationships will develop, we must seek a solution that is feasible at a given time and can be seen to be the best solution at that time. At the moment, there is no such majority organization in Slovakia to represent the problems of the national minorities. Some signs do exist, though, that Carnogursky's Christian Democratic Movement would more or less be able to accept cultural autonomy but we know that this is not the right solution for a minority operating in social and political conditions like the Hungarians in Slovakia. This only satisfies minorities whose members are scattered. For them, I cannot offer a different solution, either. The trouble is that this is the maximum that any Slovak force could accept just now. The more democratic and liberal parties do not have any ideas on the issue, especially because such political forces do not really exist. A new conservative right-wing party is just being formed and we do not yet know how they will relate to this issue. Those Slovak parties that have a tolerant attitude toward the Hungarian issue do not have any chance of political support. [passage omitted]

Ministry Urges Return of Palestinian Deportees

AU2812150492 Prague CTK in English 0511 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 22 (CTK)— The Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs supports United Nations Security Council resolution 799, which demands that Israel return to their homes more than 400 Palestinians whom it deported to southern Lebanon December 17, a ministry spokesman told CTK today.

The ministry expresses hope that all sides in the conflict refrain from actions that would endanger the Arab-Israeli peace talks currently under way in Washington D.C., the spokesman said.

UN To Admit Czechs, Slovaks as Members 15 Jan

AU2812145792 Prague CTK in English 0439 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava Dec 22 (CTK)— Slovakia and the Czech Republic will be accepted as members of the United Nations on January 15, 1993, Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic told the Slovak news agency (TA SR) after his return from the United States today.

In separate conversations with Czechoslovakia's UN delegate Eduard Kukan and Czechoslovak ambassador to the United States Michael Zantovsky, Gasparovic discussed the apportionment of Czechoslovakia's United Nations seats between the Czech and Slovak Republics after the end of the federation on December 31, Gasparovic spokesman Lubos Jurik said.

Jurik said Gasparovic also met in Washington with a former leader of the United States administration, John Karch, who is of Slovak origin, and unofficially with

Lion Furth, head of a group working closely with President-elect Bill Clinton. According to Jurik, Furth said the United States would recognize Slovakia like every other democratic state.

Gasparovic visited the United States at the invitation of organizations and associations of ethnic Slovaks in the U.S. and met with businessmen and entrepreneurs interested in investing in Slovakia.

Czech, Slovak Premiers Meet at TV Roundtable

LD2712165892 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar, Federal Assembly Chairman Michal Kovac, Slovak National Council Chairman Ivan Gasparovic, and Czech National Council Chairman Milan Uhde, participated in the television roundtable program "Kroky" in Bratislava today. Afterwards Vladimir Meciar gave a private lunch in honor of Vaclav Klaus.

As the Slovak premier said when interviewed by a correspondent of the Slovak news agency, their meeting was a working garthering as well as a festive one; they discussed topical issues of interest to both sides but no conclusions were reached. According to him, it was probably the last meeting of the two premiers this year.

On the division of federal assets, Vladimir Meciar said that the commission and the finance ministers have prepared working papers for tackling disputed questions in future.

Disagree on Flag, Privatization

LD2712204492 Prague Stanice Ceskoslovensko Radio Network in Czech 1700 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Democratic spirit, profound humanitarian character, and the constitutional way of Czechoslovakia's split were pointed out by Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar in Kroky, the program broadcast on Slovak Television today. He noted that previous political representatives did not solve the issue of constitutional changes and changes in the constitutional setup, and this was why they lost the elections. According to him, this is an expression of geopolitical change in Europe as well as of different economic interests.

Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus, who participated in this television roundtable, noted that the current situation is determined by the results of the elections, after which the constitutional setup became the dominant issue.

The fact that the Czech Republic's flag is going to be the same as the present Czechoslovak state flag was described by Vladimir Meciar as an obvious clash of two political norms valid on the territory of the Czech and Slovak republics. In this context, Vaclav Klaus said that he would prefer to vote for a change of the Czech flag. He stressed, however, that the Czech part of the federation identifies itself with the Czechoslovak flag more than the Slovak side.

Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar and Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus confirmed today that the two republics hold different views on the future process of coupon privatization. Coupon privatization will not continue in Slovakia. In the Czech Republic, its second wave will still take place. Journalists were told this by the two prime ministers when they met for a private lunch at the Borik Hotel in Bratislava. According to Vladimir Meciar, the Slovak Government considers the standard forms of privatization to be more suitable. Vaclav Klaus noted that in the Czech Republic the state property which even after the second wave of coupon privatization fails to find a specific owner will also be privatized through standard methods. According to them, the issue of a division of coupon privatization will be discussed by the national parliaments.

IMF Revises Loan, Credit Ratios for Republics

AU2212170292 Prague CTK in English 1954 GMT 18 Dec 92

[Text] Prague, Dec 18 (CTK)— The International Monetary Fund (IMF) will allocate loans to the soon-to-be independent Czech and Slovak Republics according to a 2.29:1 ratio, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus told Czech Television tonight.

The new ratio is a revision of the earlier 2:1, and more accurately corresponds to the actual position of the two republics, according to Klaus.

This is not a...chance figure, he added, stressing that the new ratio would affect future loans and credits from the IMF.

Slovakia 'Not Informed' About Quotas

AU2212170492 Prague CTK in English 1015 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 19 (CTK)— Hvezdon Koctuch, chairman of the Slovak parliamentary Economics and Budgetary Committee, today said the Slovak side has not been officially informed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) about a new approach to the division of quotas between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

He was thus responding to last night's announcement by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus on Czechoslovak television that he had been informed by the IMF that a 2.29:1 ratio in favor of the Czech Republic should be used in dividing the quotas between the two republics.

Klaus said the new ratio, a revision of the earlier 2:1 ratio, better corresponds to the actual position of the two republics.

Koctuch told CTK that it is very strange that the report was addressed to the Czech premier and not to Federal Premier Jan Strasky, since Czechoslovakia still exists.

Koctuch said he held personal talks with some IMF members who, in his words, voiced the conviction that the original 2:1 ratio should be changed in favor of Slovakia.

Slovaks Oppose Adopting Czech Figures

AU2312161092 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Dec 92 pp 1, 2

[TA SR report: "A Christmas Gift from the IMF?"]

[Excerpt] The division of member quotas between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic at a ratio of 2.29 to 1—according to IMF calculations—means that the Czech Republic's economy was evaluated as better than the Slovak economy by 29 to 30 percent.

This is what the deputy governor of the Czechoslovak State Bank, M. Tkac, said in a statement regarding the IMF report on Friday [18 December]. Czech Prime Minister Klaus provided information about it in the "Czechoslovak Television Journal" program.

Federal Documents

The IMF was using—according to M. Tkac—federal documents with statistical data, from which is it difficult to estimate the share of one or the other republic in the economic indicators. The republican finance ministers, J. Toth and I. Kocarnik, concluded an agreement about two months ago that this quota would be divided according to a ratio of 2 to 1 and reported this agreement to the IMF in a letter. The practical impact will be that credit quotas from the IMF for both republics will be somewhat lower for Slovakia, and Slovaks will have fewer votes on IMF bodies. On the other hand, Slovakia will have to contribute less, Tkac said.

Klaus' Lobby

Slovak Minister of Economy Cernak said in his statement on the division of the quotas between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic: "As soon as the talks between the Czech and the Slovak sides started, when we spoke about how to divide the IMF and the EBRD quotas, the Czech side brought up this 2.29 to 1 ratio. From this it follows that if the report on the IMF decision is correct, it means that these bodies have adopted Czech data and standpoints, and do not respect the calculations made by IMF experts. From this it then follows that these bodies trusted information delivered to them in that way, and do not trust the system agreed upon between the two sides. It would be reasonable to wait until an official IMF report is issued, or to contact its representatives even prior to that and ask them for an equitable division of the quotas. If the IMF does not change its decision, then it will put Slovakia at a certain disadvantage, although we do not consider it to be a tragedy. If I am to give my personal opinion—based on other information I have—on this IMF attitude, Klaus's intervention can be observed, since he has a function in that organization," Cernak said. [passage omitted]

Czech Independence Day Festivities Outlined

AU2412132592 Prague CTK in English 1831 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Prague Dec 21 (CTK)—The first meeting of the first parliament of the independent Czech Republic will open at 1:00 p.m. CET on January 1, 1993, at Prague Castle's Vladislav Hall, with speeches to be delivered by chairman of the Chamber of Deputies Milan Uhde and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus.

The meeting will promulgate the Declaration of the Czech National Council addressed to the parliaments and peoples across the world.

Approved by the Czech parliament December 17, the declaration says that the Czech Republic will be a stable democratic state and a reliable political, economic and contracting partner in foreign relations.

Invited to the session will be members of the Prague diplomatic corps and other guests of honor.

At 4:00 p.m. CET, an ecumenical service will be celebrated in the St Vitus Cathedral at Prague Castle which will bring together representatives of all major Christian churches.

At 8:00 p.m. CET, a gala concert will be given in Prague's Dvorak Hall. The Czech Philharmonic conducted by Libor Pesek will render Smetana's cycle of symphony poems My Country.

Czech Minister Explains Major Joint Ventures

AU2312132192 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 19 Dec 92 p 14

[Interview with Vladimir Dlouhy, Czech minister of industry and trade, by Petr Simunek; place and date not given: "A Green Light for Mercedes, Continental, and Siemens?"]

[Text] [Simunek] We are about to conclude several agreements on establishing large joint ventures. Foreign partners, however, are demanding government guarantees for environmental damage, and Mercedes is demanding certain customs relief as a condition for establishing a joint venture. What is your position on these demands?

[Dlouhy] At a meeting of economic ministers, documents regarding these guarantees and reliefs were discussed. However, it is necessary to draw up certain legal documents to regulate environmental guarantees provided by the state. They are being drafted jointly by the Ministry of Privatization, Ministry of Ecology, and the National Property Fund.

So far, we have dealt with each and every case individually. Specifically, environmental guarantees were given to Siemens and Mercedes. In the latter case, we provided even more relief. According to existing regulations, there is a one year tax-free period on imports destined for the production of goods for export. This advantage applies to joint enterprises with more than 30 percent foreign capital participation, and an investment of more than 50 million [currency not given]. Such enterprises must export within 12 months a value corresponding to the value of tax-free imports. This period was extended to 24 months for Mercedes.

When drafting a general regulation for ecology, there are three areas of problems. First, there is environmental damage that arose in the past and is known at the time the joint venture is established. It will be estimated by an environmental survey, and this will depress the price at which the enterprise is sold to foreign buyers. The second type of damage is environmental damage that arose in the past, but is not known at the time the joint venture is established, and becomes apparent later on. Here, there is a certain controversy. Our solution, again, is the environmental survey, but the damage must be confirmed at the same time by the Ministry of Ecology. We do not want the foreign partner to abuse his position and aggravate the damage. In the case of Mercedes, specifically, it was said that this damage must not be more than five years old, since after five years it is really difficult to prove whether the damage was caused before or after the joint venture is established.

Then, there are the successor's risks, that is, guarantees for the quality of products. Here, the situation is very complicated and two interpretations are possible.

[Simunek] This applies, in particular, to the Skoda Energo and Siemens joint enterprise. Is the government prepared to assume these guarantees?

[Dlouhy] A certain solution would be, so it seems, to provide these guarantees for the part of Plzen's Skoda that will not become a part of the joint enterprise. I believe that after the reports on desperate negotiations between Skoda and Siemens, there is a light at the end of the tunnel. Now it all depends on the two partners; the government has really done its best. I personally believe that both joint ventures will be established.

[Simunek] What about the Mercedes-Liaz-Avia joint venture?

[Dlouhy] The government removed the duty on imports of investment units, regardless of their age, and slashed the customs fees on bogies and towing vehicles to the level applicable to other cars.

[Simunek] Last week, at a meeting of economic ministers, the economic situation in some large enterprises was discussed. In the case of CKD [Ceskomoravska Kolben Danek], they expressed the willingness to participate in salvaging the enterprise. What should such help look like, in your opinion? Is it a return to subsidizing giants from the budget?

[Dlouhy] No way. It is a willingness on the part of the government to provide guarantees from the National Property Fund, for instance, or to participate in the streamlining of the enterprises, as in the case of Skoda. As regards CKD, for example, the government is willing to provide guarantees on credit provided by the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank on the contract on the delivery of street-car lines to Bel Horizonte in Brazil. The Commercial Bank demands state guarantees irrespective of the guarantees provided by the Brazilian Government. Another problem regarding CKD is unpaid claims for locomotives delivered to Russia. The government will help guarantee a bridging credit. A sale of these claims was also considered. In the case of subsidized enterprises, we are going to push for their extensive restructuring. Documents on the CKD, discussed by the economic ministers, are being finalized, and could become the starting point for establishing another joint venture, for example, CKD-AEG transportation systems.

The government is trying to make the situation easier for the largest enterprises where there could be a serious impact from the regional and social points of view. It is no universal form of assistance, however.

Another example—in which I am suggesting some support from the government—is assistance for an enterprise that, in my opinion, represents the peak of Czech mechanical engineering—AERO Vodochody. I will propose a specific solution at the meeting of the economic ministers.

Slovakia's Independence Day Celebrations Outlined

AU2412132192 Prague CTK in English 1412 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava Dec 21 (CTK)—Official celebrations of Slovakia's independence will begin on December 31 on Bratislava's central square with a symbolic folding up of the Czechoslovak flag to the tune of the Czechoslovak anthem, an official of the Slovak Ministry of Culture said today.

Ivan Brozik from the ministry's press department said at a press conference that Slovak parliament chairman Ivan Gasparovic will deliver a speech after the bells sound midnight and the flag of the Slovak Republic is hoisted.

Shortly after midnight documents on Slovakia's diplomatic recognition will be handed over in the Government Office. In the morning of January 1 the Slovak parliament will hold a ceremonial session and Premier Vladimir Meciar is expected to address the nation on television.

Brozik said the Ministry of Finance has allocated five crowns (about 17 cents) per capita for the celebration. All bodies of local administration received this contribution and thus all have equal financial and legislative possibilities to organize celebrations in the same way as Bratislava, he added.

Meciar TV Address Looks Forward to New Year

LD2712211292 Bratislava Slovak 1 Television Network in Slovak 1740 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Regular weekly television address by Slovak President Vladimir Meciar—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] The year 1992 was a year of exceptional importance in our history. There were two very different halves: The first half was a stage of seeking and not finding, it was like going around in circles. This was so because we were going around overripe problems, there was no courage, no political ability to take decisions. Thus, rightly, the responsibility and the duty to make decisions was transferred to you and you were taking decisions, in the elections which were free and democratic and the result of which cannot be doubted even if the opposition—which fared in them as it deserved—has been casting doubts on the result, but the result is valid, respected by the international public, respected in the structure and system of the highest bodies of the Slovak Republic.

When we look at the second half of the year, that was a stage of finding solutions. You said—by your votes in the elections—there had been enough going round in circles, it was necessary to start making decisions, to start looking for a new path for the Slovak Republic. We faced the phase of decision-taking, and we know the results in individual spheres now. In this context I think the most important decision is the one in the sphere of our constitutional setup, a decision about the solution regarding the Slovak Republic's standing in the future integrated Europe.

Czechoslovakia ceases to exist, the Slovak Republic is formed as a state: the state of free and equal citizens, of all—the Slovaks, Hungarians, Poles, Ukranians, and Ruthenians, as well as the Czechs living in our country. This is our state. It will communicate with you from 1 January 1993, it will fulfill all the functions to be carried out by a state. This is why you should welcome it as one of you, somebody who has arrived in your family. Somebody did not expect it, somebody does not know what to do with it; however it is ours. [passage omitted]

Thus, New Year's Eve will not just mean the end of the year, but the beginning of a new period. On 2 January you will go to work as usual, events in your life will repeat themselves as in the past—but everything will be different, it will not be the same. [passage omitted]

We will be facing a test of the maturity of our society, a test of how mature our community is as an entity. Only things we decide ourselves will take place, we will gain only what we ourselves build and organize. Providing we trust ourselves, things are necessarily going to be better. And I do trust you. I trust in the capability of the citizens of this republic to achieve this. [passage omitted] Is the second half of 1992 a success or not yet? The number of unemployed fell by more than 2 percent, some negative trends in the state budget were halted, inflation has been slowed down, and new institutions and new cooperation relations are being built for the future. It is difficult to be content with this. We ourselves are not sure how to assess this—is it already a permanent reversal or are these purely the first flashes which can still be followed by attenuation and difficulties? Nevertheless, we feel happy about every success, however small.

The year 1993 will be the year when we face the responsibility of halting the negative trend of our economy, halting further decline of our economy, and halting failures of production in individual enterprises. It will be necessary to open the market, and establish international relations and cooperation. [passage omitted]

We must be very realistic and sincere. We said that the budget did not include resources to stimulate our future development. These resources are to be found outside the budget. Shortly, several billion [currency not specified] will be earmarked, outside the budget, to help small and medium businesses, help to build the banking system, and help cooperation with foreign countries in order to support our enterprises' exports. [passage omitted]

Esteemed fellow citizens, celebrate New Year's Eve with your family and friends. Welcome your state—the state which you arrived at after thousands of years, the state which offers you a chance, opportunity, and responsibility. For 1993 I wish you all good health, be proud and dignified! Despite a modest beginning we can be jolly and we will certainly be successful. I thank you for your support, understanding, and human approach to the government in 1992. I deeply respect your wisdom and industrious work. I wish you all the best.

Minister Cites Measures To Speed Privatization

AU2312144192 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 18 Dec 92 p 2

[TA SR report: "Banks Will Be Reinforced; Lubomir Dolgos on Privatization"]

[Text] Bratislava— Proceeds from privatization up to now, amounting to 5 to 6 billion korunas, should reinforce the basic capital of Slovak banks, whose potential to extend credits will be multiplied in this way. If, at the same time, the down payment that the new owner must make for a privatized state company is reduced in the further course of privatization to 10 percent of the purchase price, conditions will be created for the sale of companies worth up to 400 billion korunas to domestic

buyers. This was stated by Lubomir Dolgos, Slovak minister for the administration and privatization of national property.

He noted that another way to accelerate privatization is to sell Slovak enterprises at book value or below book value and not at market prices as was the case in the past. The main criterion will be the volume of future investments by the new owner, retaining employment, ensuring the marketing of output, and the acquisition of credit abroad.

Assessing the course of privatization since the adoption of the new government's policy statement in July 1992, Dolgos conceded that replacing ranking personnel at the ministry has taken too much time. A certain slowdown of privatization in Slovakia has been caused by the need to adopt a new concept and by the exhaustion of Slovak banks' credit resources, he noted. Coupon privatization ought to be only a supplementary method henceforth.

Skinheads Demonstrate, Clash With Foreigners

AU2212213592 Prague CTK in English 1110 GMT 19 Dec 92

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 19 (CTK)— The fascist slogan Sieg Heil accompanied Friday's [18 December] demonstration of about 70 young people in front of the Slovak parliament in Bratislava, a majority of them skinheads.

They protested against what they called abuse of minor clashes between foreign students and members of right-oriented youth for blackening Slovakia's image in the eyes of world public and presenting it as a state whose population is inclined towards racism.

In the attacks of skinheads against foreign students in Bratislava last weekend, many foreign students were said to have been beaten and seriously injured.

But the Slovak Interior Ministry Press Department said in a statement given to the Slovak news agency TA SR Monday that none of those speaking about serious injuries of foreign students was an eye-witness to the events, and that no criminal offense has been announced.

However, CTK obtained information from a Bratislava hospital where one of the foreign students injured in last weekend's clashes received treatment for broken jaw and teeth.

During Friday's demonstration, two representatives of skinheads were received by the head of the Slovak National Council (parliament) Department for Citizens' Petitions and Complaints. They handed him a petition demanding that criminal proceedings be halted against Martin Alexandr Savel, publisher of two anti-semitic books. If found guilty on charges of supporting and spreading a movement aimed at suppressing the rights and freedoms of citizens, he might be punished with a three to eight-year imprisonment.

The two books—Knizata Zloby (The Knights of Anger) and Geneze Sionismu (The Genesis of Zionism)—were published in Slovak in 1991. They both present the Jewish community as a group of people pursuing a program aimed at gaining control over the world. A majority of copies were seized by police under the decision of the Bratislava Prosecutor's Office.

Goncz Discusses Media Dispute, Visegrad

AU2312175392 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 21 Dec 92 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Hungarian President Arpad Goncz by Istvan Leko; place and date not given: "A Postponed Trip to Paradise"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted [Leko] A few months ago, Hungary was described as an isle of peace in Eastern Europe. This past August a neo-Nazi pamphlet was published by Istvan Csurka, former deputy chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. On the anniversary of the Hungarian revolution, the roars of skinheads prevented you from making a speech. Last week, the Antall government dismissed the director of Hungarian Television because, in the government's opinion, he does not provide objective information. Do you believe everything is all right in Hungary?

[Goncz] I have the feeling that Hungary is the most stable and peaceful country there is today. We owe this to the fact that the war on the territory of the former Yugoslavia moved from close proximity to our borders farther south and, second, that after the 1990 elections the Hungarian Government did not change. We must also consider the relative and absolute importance of the so-called mass media war. Radio and television officials do not play as important a role in foreign and economic policy as it would seem. There was real tension between the opposition and the governmental parties who shared identical opinions when the two directors were being appointed. It is likely that because of economic and political problems at home, the importance of the press is overestimated in Hungary. This is why I tried to prevent the media from advocating governmental or party interests. I tried to establish consensus.

[Leko] Is that why you did not sign the proposal for the dismissal of the director of radio and television?

[Goncz] There is nothing else left for me than to govern myself according to my own credo and the current situation in Hungary. I am not a president of individual parties and I am not a president of the government. I am the president of Hungary, and it is my duty to protect civic rights, that is, the freedom of the press, too.

[Leko] You refused to dismiss the radio and television director, and you also rejected the law on compensation for wrongdoings, a law approved by parliament.

[Goncz] It was not I but the Constitutional Court who rejected it. It is my constitutional right to seek assistance at the Constitutional Court if there is a problem on which there is no national consensus and where there are legal doubts. This law was about the statute of limitations—one of the pillars of constitutionality. I could not have not addressed the Constitutional Court with this problem. The Constitutional Court said "no" to such an extent that the law was rejected. It can be said that what remains from its title is only wreckage. That is, the accusation that I acted unconstitutionally cannot stand the test. [passage omitted]

[Leko] In this century Hungary went through two tragedies. One was the Trianon Treaty and the other was the suppressed revolution in 1956. The year 1956 has been revised. What about the Trianon Treaty?

[Goncz] [passage omitted] Last week there were public opinion polls whose results reflect our society's pain, as well its sense of reality (More than 60 percent of the respondents reject any revision of the borders, while one third would consider it—editorial note). In every neighboring country, with the exception of Austria, there is a large Hungarian population, and the suspicion the state-forming nations have toward them is understandable. It is possible to expect that tensions will ease only if the nation-related problems are solved on the international level. One of the reasons Hungary is on its way into Europe is that they succeeded in solving the problem of open borders: there is free movement of labor, families can meet freely, etc. We can see such examples in Finland, for instance, where there are two official languages, since the population is 6 percent Swedish. A solution to this problem will take a lot of time in our region. Hungary does not see enemies in the neighboring countries. Our demand is that Hungarians in these countries should be allowed to remain Hungarians. [passage omitted]

[Leko] Let us return to general questions. The Visegrad Three have become merely a kind of symbol. It has brought no economic results.

[Goncz] Since 1989 we have suffered many disappointments. It is clear today that our dreams—I mean Visegrad dreams—did not come true. We were expecting too much from the West, and we all believed that after the fall of communism we would have a solemn parade and begin a trip to paradise. Today, we can see that paradise is beyond our reach, for the time being. I believe that in the future we will have to study German literature, if for no other reason than to learn how Baron Munchausen and his horse were able to get out of the swamps. The role of Germany is very important in our region. But the Germans themselves cannot assume the role of a savior.

Government May Set Visa Requirement for Russians

AU2812120092 Budapest MTI in English 1109 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 24 December (MTI)—Hungary may consider introducing a visa requirement for Russian citizens only if the country comes under pressure that seriously threatens the interests of the Hungarian population, said Interior Minister Peter Boross in an interview carried by the daily NEPSZABADSAG on Thursday [24 December].

Boross did not rule out the possibility of such developments in future.

NEPSZABADSAG asked Boross about the issue after the Russian Parliament had voted to lift all bans on citizens' trips abroad.

Boross recalled earlier Western forecasts of a 20-30-million strong refugee wave from Russia in case of such a decision.

"I consider this a phantom, but, whether it is or it isn't, we'll have to prepare in a very pragmatic way for what may come...

"The border guard standards in Hungary are adequate, even stricter than in many other countries. Entry to the country has its rules, which have to be consistently observed," Boross said, referring to recent measures introduced to tighten conditions of entry to Hungary.

Examples of such measures are that, upon entry, all foreign citizens have to possess 1,000 forints for each day of their planned stay, and that cars entering the country have to undergo a strict technical examination. Over 1 million foreigners have been denied entry to Hungary since the regulations were introduced in October 1991.

As regards illegal migration, Boross said, border guard task squadrons had been set up to prevent it. These units fulfil the task at high standards, he added.

A total of 112,000 refugees had come to Hungary over the past five years. Nearly 70,000 of them are still staying in the country.

Statistics on Foreign Investment Published

AU2312114992 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 92 p 5

[MTI report: "Foreign Interests—Seven Times More Capital"]

[Text] According to a recently published analysis of the Central Statistical Office [KSH], by the end of 1991 some 9,117 foreign interest enterprises had issued annual reports with balance sheets. The KSH received the reports of another 2,079 new joint ventures in the first half of 1992.

The amount of foreign capital flowing into Hungary is dynamically increasing: The 30 billion forint stock at the end of 1989 increased more than sevenfold, to 215 billion forints, by the end of 1991. Out of the founding capital of joint ventures, the founding capital in foreign currency amounted to 24 percent in 1989 and 45 percent in 1991.

The number of completely foreign-owned ventures is also on the increase. At the end of 1991, some 1,190 economic organizations were under solely foreign ownership. The enterprises with a Hungarian majority ownership had a founding capital of an average of 52 million forints, the completely foreign owned enterprises had an average of 32 million forints, and the enterprises with a foreign majority started their operation with a founding capital that was twice the average. Six percent of the foreign interest enterprises had a founding capital of more than 100 million forints.

Some 57 percent of foreign capital was invested in industry, 16 percent in trade, 6.2 percent in the construction industry, and 17 percent in the non-material sphere. Net income from sales was 1,046.7 billion forints. The profit of the enterprises amounted to 11 billion forints, which is 70 percent less than in 1990.

Approximately half the enterprises were profitable. In general, the industrial ventures made a loss while trade closed with a positive result. The enterprises contributed 23 billion forints to the budget. Some 15.5 billion forints of dividends were paid out, which is 25 percent more than in 1990.

Privatization To Be Speeded Up in 1993

AU2412111792 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Text] Budapest, 22 December (MTI)—Faster privatisation next year in Hungary was predicted by Tamas Szabo, minister without portfolio in charge of privatization, in Budapest on Tuesday [22 December].

New forms of loans may involve a growing number of Hungarian investors. The government plans to increase the role of the Budapest Stock Exchange, and offer further opportunities for the use of compensation coupons in privatisation, Szabo said.

On December 10 the government decided to reduce the interest on "E" (existence) loans from 16.6 percent to 6-7 percent, and increase their expiry from 10 to 15 years. Both measures are to lend impetus to privatization in the short term, Szabo added.

In 1992, twice as many firms were privatized and twice as many foreign companies involved in the process than in the previous two years put together. Now the private sector contributes almost a third of the country's gross national product. The government plans to increase this to more than half by 1994, Szabo said.

The government will give the stock exchange a bigger role in privatization, and create new opportunities for small investors.

In the first eleven months of the year, the State Property Agency (AVU) had privatisation income of 67 billion forints, including 40 billion forints worth of hard currency income, 15 billion forints in cash paid by Hungarian investors, and 7.5 billion forints worth of privatization loans. The rest comes from other AVU income, such as rent. Some 27.7 billion forints of privatization income went into the state budget for the first eleven months of the year, Szabo said.

Walesa Letter to Solidarity Urges Calm, Patience

WS2412133492 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 2314 GMT 21 Dec 92

[Letter from Polish President Lech Walesa to the National Committee of Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions (NSZZ) 'Solidarity'; date not given]

[Text] Dear ladies and gentlemen,

The dramatic situation of Polish mining is a matter I know well. I understand the motives that urged you to start the protest. You are defending your places of work and fair wages. You are demanding energetic actions on the part of the government which would effectively solve the accumulated problems of Silesia. This is the role of a trade union. This is what the responsibility for the workers' interests compels you to do.

You must bear in mind, however, that all solutions need time. Even the best programs will not change the situation in Polish mining immediately. One must consider what is realistic, and be aware of what the state is able to do.

I concede that you are right; I would like to emphasize strongly, though, that we must not squander what, with difficulty and at the expense of hardship for the whole society, we have managed to achieve over the past few years. The good of the country and civil thinking must be the top priority interest. I believe that "Solidarity," which has always proved itself to be reasonable and responsible, understands it very well.

The government's program of restructuring the coal industry is in the stage of completion. We are only weeks away from implementing it. This is, at least, what I have been told.

As you know, I have always favored acceleration. This time, however, it is worthwhile to wait a little. We will not solve Polish problems with strikes. This way we can only weaken the economy and the state. We can cause chaos and destabilization; lengthen the time of passing to normality; destroy what we have already achieved with such difficulty. One stone can cause a landslide. Who is going to extract us from it?

"Solidarity" fought for a free Poland. It is our common good. We must guard and protect it. In the name of responsibility for its present and future.

Walesa Writes to Cabinet on Miners' Strike

WS2412133592 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 2216 GMT 22 Dec 92

[Letter from President Lech Walesa to the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland; date not given]

[Text] Dear ladies and gentlemen,

When a country is afflicted with a crisis, the government bears special responsibility. It must be, on the one hand, effective and energetic, but on the other, it must understand the complexity of the situation and be deft in its activities. In order to resolve people's problems quickly and effectively, one must meet them and help. One has to talk to people, be among them, listen carefully to the voice of the society. However, one has to react effectively and with determination so that our transformations are not jeopardized by lack of responsibility and anarchy. As a country which is, with difficulty, lifting itself up from the crisis, we have too much to lose. On the basis of the latest events, one is entitled to think that there are forces in Poland that are trying to gain political capital owing to the dramatic situation in Silesia. The government must realize this.

The program of restructuring the coal industry is almost ready, which will be an opportunity for Silesia. This means that the government understands the needs and challenges, that it is trying to face them and create a vision of the future. I think, however, that even the best programs will fail if we do not persuade people they are good, if they are implemented without the Polish people's acceptance and without their participation.

We must all remember that power in a democratic state is not for the power itself. It must first of all serve the people, especially those who feel lost and vulnerable.

Katowice Rail Strikers Suspend Action

LD2412141192 Warsaw PAP in English 1350 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Katowice, Dec. 24—Striking railway workers in the southern Polish province of Katowice announced on Thursday [24 December] that they would be suspending their strike action, with effect from 4 p.m. Christmas Eve.

In a communique issued this afternoon, the inter-industrial regional strike committee stated that the suspension of the strike, and the simultaneous suspension of a blockade of freight trains, "will last until the next round of negotiations with the government, which will take place before the end of the year."

The committee also suggested that "this gesture of good-will ought to be taken by the government as a signal broadening the possibility of reaching an agreement with the miners, the railway workers, and the miners." The decision to suspend the strike action had been taken out of a wish to guarantee "heating, light and gas for Polish homes over the holiday period," the communique continued.

Privatization Minister Stresses Keeping to Program

PM2312110092 Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 16 Dec 92 p 12

[Interview with Privatization Minister Janusz Lewandowski by PAI correspondent Teresa Kwasniewska; place, date not given]

[Text] [Kwasniewska] "You have made a sacred cow out of the privatization scheme"; "We are for privatization, but based on decent principles"; "Your proposed model of privatization is only for the nouveaux riches"; "How can work forces influence decisions within privatized enterprises with their 10 percent of shares? They will have to sell them quickly, anyway, because their poverty will force them to do so." Many such bitter words have been directed at you and your universal privatization bill. Is the privatization proposal really so unsound? Or is it perhaps that people do not understand it?

[Lewandowski] We know from our experience to date that the bill does contain certain defects. However, its general framework mapping out the approach to privatization is by no means unsound. All that is now needed is gradual rationalization of the whole process in its successive steps. One of these steps is establishing friendly relations leading to amicable agreements with work forces and union activists.

Indeed, I did hear very many critical opinions of our project. We also know that the National Trade Union Alliance [OPZZ] is generally hostile to the idea of privatization. However, if the problem is that too few people are involved in the privatization scheme to date and that society is generally too poor, then we must do something to offer society the chance to own at least a modest share of the privatized assets. And I believe that we have actually proposed such a scheme. It certainly accommodates many "variations," but it is at the same time carefully thought out, it shows all the hallmarks of a responsible approach, and it will bring beneficial consequences for the enterprises it proposes to transform in the privatization process. Perhaps this is what makes it less comprehensible?

[Kwasniewska] Do you envisage any alternative options allowing for relevant adjustments to your proposal if it is not approved by work forces in its present form?

[Lewandowski] I am moving in that direction. But we are in danger of losing a historic opportunity here. Poland is introducing a scheme for transforming its ownership structures within one generation's lifespan. And we can either limit the scheme by offering ownership chances only to the working people and to those with big money, or we can make a generous gesture toward all those who had contributed to the creation of national assets but who are now retired on old age or disability pensions and suffer both privation and frustration. I intend to make every possible effort to defend our proposed method of universalized ownership in Poland.

[Kwasniewska] But the truth is that there is no universal public acceptance of privatization processes. On the contrary, people are very direct in expressing their fears and apprehensions about privatization.

[Lewandowski] Privatization must be carried out. We want to get it done as soon as possible, but not forcibly and not against the work forces' wishes. We must win their approval and consent to further privatization measures. After all, if we want to give people a solid right to ownership of assets in the form of stocks, shares, bonds, or securities, instead of chance lottery tickets, universal privatization will offer them such rights.

We must also give people more data, more information. They must realize that the devil is not as black as he is painted. And we must demonstrate to them that if, say, the "Pepsi" company has entered our market, it will mean more money as well as job security for its employees; that a very large sector of Polish economy will be left in public—that is, state—hands, but that at the same time there will be a private sector represented by international companies—just as in Britain, the United States, and elsewhere. And that this direction of development is both inevitable and salutary for our country's economy. After all, it is better to work for General Motors in Warsaw than in Chicago. The latter option is advantageous to Americans, not to Poles.

[Kwasniewska] So what is the next move in the privatization process?

[Lewandowski] We fought a campaign for a normal, that is, privatized economy, and that necessarily presupposes a privatization operation leading to such a state. In any case, things are not going too badly. When you talk to the work forces themselves, you generally find that 90 percent of them do actually want to see privatization brought in—especially in areas where economic conditions are particularly adverse. They are, in fact, waiting quite impatiently for potential investors to express their interest. In Starachowice they are hoping for Renault to step in and take over; in Polkolor last year they even went on strike demanding that a contract be signed with Thomson. Thus, we note fears and apprehensions connected with privatization, but at the same time we also register people's hopes and expectations. I recently met with trade union leaders representing Wizamet state enterprise. They are very happy at the prospect of joining forces with Gillette, because that means—in a region which is under a constant and real threat of unemployment—that they will see a solid influx of capital, new jobs, and better pay prospects.

[Kwasniewska] Are there no fears that we might stop our progress when we are only halfway to the proposed destination?

[Lewandowski] Even if we say "Stop" to privatization, it will still proceed along a subterranean course, but the danger is that it will then favor all kinds of wheeler-dealers and sharp operators. Such are natural laws of human activity. People prefer to have something that they can claim as their own, private property. If they cannot privatize their assets in compliance with the law, they will do it anyway by other means—unfortunately, these will sometimes even include such measures as theft...

Walesa Appoints New Economic Development Council

LD2212234192 Warsaw Third Program Radio Network in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Dec

[Text] President Lech Walesa today appointed a Council for Economic Development. Its aim will be counselling and giving opinions on economic matters. Members of the council will be appointed by the president. Apart from members of the government, parliamentarians and employees of the National Bank of Poland will also be invited to its meetings.

Suchocka Chairs Session on Walbrzych Restructuring

WS2212134092 Warsaw SIS in Polish 1825 GMT 12 Dec 92

["Government Press Office Communique "—SIS headline]

[Text] Breaking the barriers that slow the restructuring of the Walbrzych region was the subject of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka's 12 December session with the leadership of the following ministries: industry and trade, labor and social policy, and finance. The prime minister issued recommendations that are intended to expedite the reform program in the region.

At the beginning of the meeting, Edward Nowak, undersecretary of state in the Ministry of Industry and Trade, briefed the participants on the work of the newly created interministerial team for the restructuring of the Walbrzych region. He characterized the unique features of Walbrzych Voivodship, provided a rundown on the efforts to bring about ownership transformation, and described the struggle against unemployment. There are currently 72,300 unemployed persons in Walbrzych, which constitutes 21 percent of the workforce. Four mines are currently in the process of being liquidated.

The prime minister was interested in the reasons for the unsatisfactory pace of transformation in the Walbrzych area against the backdrop of numerous existing programs. She recommended that a review of the existing restructuring plans be completed within the next several days. The analysis of delays in program implementation; the verification of unrealistic goals; and the identification of the most pressing tasks should be carried out. In addition, a concrete program of mine liquidation is to be prepared.

It was acknowledged that excessive diffusion of organizational authority is one of the factors hindering the process of restructuring. The prime minister proposed that the voivod of Walbrzych should directly take over the tasks of the government plenipotentiary for the restructuring of the region. He should also take over the function of the founding body of the Walbrzych mines. This would allow for a better identification of the decisionmaking center, equipped with the means of financing the transformation process, and will facilitate the implementation of activities in this area. It was determined that the use of funds for restructuring must be made more effective. The money saved during mine liquidation should be better utilized to create new jobs.

The Council and Regional Committee, and the Walbrzych Regional Fund—in their capacity as self-government forums closely cooperating with the voivod of Walbrzych—should facilitate the privatization of the administrative process of transformation.

It was established at the meeting that 42 billion zlotys, promised to the aforementioned fund for the purpose of restructuring, would be urgently delivered.

The meeting also decided to retain the special interministerial unit composed of the representatives of the Ministry of Industry and Trade; Labor and Social Policy; Finance; Ownership Transformation; and Central Planning Administration. As of today, the voivod of Walbrzych was added to the unit that will fulfill a coordinating function.

Cabinet Meets To Discuss Economic Issues

AU2412124292 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1132 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 24/12/1992—Thursday, 24 December 1992, a weekly meeting of Romania's Government started at the Victoria Palace, chaired by Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu.

In the opening of the meeting, the ministers of industry and agriculture read reports on the power situation and the ensurance of the needed resources, as well as on the population's food supply. Related to that issue, the executive decided to open financing for imports of crude necessary for processing, as well as imports of wheat. The government also decided to set up a group for finding out and investigation of companies that imported and marketed certain amounts of sugar which contain substances dangerous for the population's health and especially of the children.

As it was appreciated, the control will be extended to other groups of imported edibles (powder milk, butter).

The members of the cabinet debated also the stage of re-examination of the draft laws which were not included on the agenda of the parliament and which were returned to the government for their revising. Related to this, Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu requested that, until 10 January 1993, the entire package of 73 draft laws be re-examined, and ordered by priority for their submittance to parliament.

Discusses Ministerial Reorganization

AU2412173692 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/12/1992—The Romanian Government decided in its Thursday, December 24, meeting to prolong the application of import duties practiced in 1992 until 15 March 1993, and consequently to exempt a number of products from taxes.

Upon an initiative of the Ministry of Justice, the government discussed the situation of magistrates laid off for political reasons over 1946-1950. A bill was forwarded for a partial restoration of this situation, proposing monthly indemnities of 4,000 lei for the magistrates made redundant in the first years of the communist rule in Romania and who are still alive.

Continuing the reorganisation of governmental bodies, proposals were discussed and passed, for the organisation and functioning of a number of ministries, such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Justice, and for the creation of a national forecast commission, directly subordinated to the government.

Ministry To Claim Damages From Embargo on Iraq

AU2312155192 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1450 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/12/1992—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania initiated the necessary measures so that relevant central institutions may identify the natural and juristic persons that were caused damage in the wake of the break in economic and commercial links with Iraq and determined by Romania's observance of the embargo imposed by the UN Security Council, as well as the losses caused by the conflict between Iraq and Kuwait. An inventory of the damage done to natural persons is being finalized and the applications for damages will be lodged with the administration board of the compensation fund, created under a 1991 resolution of the Security Council, in due time.

At the same time, works are under way on estimations of the damage done to Romanian commercial companies and the respective data will be sent to the same body at the appointed time.

The obtainment of palpable results on this matter, however, is affected by the inexistence of an accord on practical modalities of getting the necessary financial resources.

At the same time, the foreign minister undertook political demarches in various UN bodies and other international forums so that the principle inscribed in Article 50 of the UN Charter referring to the states' right to demand solutions to the serious economic problems confronting them in the wake of the coercive measures applied by the Security Council, should be adequately materialized. So, for instance, in the general-politics speech made by the Romanian chief delegate to the UN General Assembly session the idea was set forth of constituting a permanent compensation fund, administered by the Security Council, to recover the economic losses of the states adversely affected by embargoes and other actions taken by the UN Security Council.

Ex-King Mihai Cancels Planned Christmas Visit

Protests Government Restrictions

AU2412094092 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Tonight, at 2028, Mr. Mircea Ciobanu, the spokesman of the former sovereign of Romania, sent us the following communique:

The Press Bureau of His Majesty the King wishes to inform all Romanians that in spite of all efforts made, His Majesty the King was again stopped from spending the holy day of Christmas in Romania and postponed the visit that he wished to pay to Timisoara and Bucharest.

In accordance with the duty he has to his people, His Majesty the King authorized his Press Bureau to issue the following communique:

As early as last summer, His Majesty the King informed the Romanian authorities about his intention to accept several invitations addressed to him by many civic and religious organizations. Upon the request of the government of that time, Mr. Theodor Melescanu came to Geneva and tried to convince His Majesty the King to postpone the visit that the authorities considered untimely but added that immediately after the elections there would be no impediment to a visit. Moreover, Mr. Melescanu promised his support to facilitate all the necessary arrangements for a proper visit, on the condition that it should take place only after the elections.

When His Majesty stated that he could not consider any understanding or compromise that would separate him from his people, the visit was prohibited.

The communique further reads: Immediately after the elections, the Secretariat of His Majesty informed the Bucharest authorities about the intention of the sovereign to participate in the Alba Iulia festivities. Far from keeping the initial promises, the authorities came up with new pretexts about the postelectoral period. Wishing to respond to the invitation addressed to him by several Romanians, the Secretariat of His Majesty the King started preparations for a visit on Christmas, all costs being assumed by His Majesty the King. For a while the authorities pretended that they had not received official visa applications, but gradually they started to impose an increasing number of conditions. Here are some of those conditions: to officially recognize republican institutions; to accept a body check at the border; to accept the order that the king's car should not deviate from the officially designated route; to have the king's promise not to make any speeches; and to accept that the government should decide whom the king will meet and where. Direct threats also appeared. The king's Bucharest representatives were warned that the smallest deviation from these conditions would result in the expulsion of the king and that there are already two planes prepared for this purpose or that the king might be stopped from arriving in Romania because of unfavorable weather conditions. Moreover, the representative of His Majesty the King was advised to verify the identity of all Christmas well-wishers, so that among them no one should be from Bessarabia. His Majesty the King was told that it was not advisable to pay a visit to Bucharest and that the visit to Timisoara is not welcome, either. Moreover, the authorities threatened that those people who did not observe the rules imposed by the government would be punished.

The communique further reads: The conditions imposed now by the authorities hurt the dignity of our whole nation. Those in power in Bucharest have often said that the king is not a Romanian citizen, nevertheless the conditions they impose are beyond anything that might be acceptable to a Romanian citizen, a foreign citizen, or for any private citizen.

On Easter 1990, on Christmas 1990, twice in 1991, and not less than three times in 1992, the Bucharest authorities proceeded in the same way, initially offering a visa and withdrawing it later, or imposing conditions that turn the granting of the visa into a farce. The illusive openness of the authorities immediately followed by clear attempts at manipulation or intimidation hide a very simple truth, namely that despite statements to the contrary, the authorities continue to be afraid of the presence of the king in Romania because they know that he has a national legitimacy that no elections, no matter how well orchestrated they are, can offer.

In the name of his duty to all the Romanians, His Majesty the King rejects these neo-Stalinist methods. His Majesty the King does not intend to conclude a deal with authorities who have showed a permanent lack of respect, both for the rule of the law and for the most simple truths.

The king has always promoted national conciliation, and therefore, he will refuse to receive lessons of patriotism from people educated on the benches of party academies in Moscow and who incited for years on end violence among Romanians.

The right of every person to return to his country is not negotiable. Thus the king affirms only one of the principles that are common to all democratic countries, a principle accepted by Romania in the international accords regarding human rights.

In the past more than 40 years, His Majesty the King has never broken his word to all Romanians, and therefore, he does not intend to break it now. His Majesty reminds all Romanians that only when the real democracy is reestablished, will each Romanian be able to return home in peace and justice.

Sends Message to Timisoara Citizens

AU2512144992 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] At 1102, we received a fax from the spokesman of the former sovereign addressed to the Timisoara inhabitants on Christmas Day:

I want to wholeheartedly thank His Beatitude Nicolae, Mayor Oancea, and all of you who invited and expected me to arrive on this Christmas day. You all know how much I wanted to spend this day together with you, in the Timisoara Cathedral—which I am the founder of—a cathedral which is the symbol of your faith and courage. As of 16 December 1989, the cathedral, as well as the entire city on the Bega River, was recognized throughout the world as a symbol of the indomitable courage of the Romanians, who are thirsty for freedom.

You started the true revolution and the day of 16 December cannot be forgotten, rewritten, or reinterpreted. Many questions linked to those events have not yet received an answer. As long as such an answer is not forthcoming, moral uncertainty can only continue.

Once again, I will celebrate the holiday of the birth of Christ far away from you, the message reads. Nevertheless, my heart is here, along with you and all those who looked forward to my arrival with joy, faith, and hope. In all these years, my feelings toward the Romanian people and the whole Romanian country have remained unchanged. I stayed faithful to the oath I took before God and my people. Therefore, I am sure you will realize my deep sorrow and disappointment at not being able to be with you in Timisoara today.

Today is a holiday. Do not sit at your tables without taking a moment to think about those who gave their lives in 1989 and for the hundreds of thousands of Romanian martyrs who died in the name of freedom and truth. Likewise, you should not forget the Romanians who had to leave their hearths, the poor and humble, and those who lost all hope and no longer believe that the future will bring the quiet and well-being they need so much.

I would like to repeat the words of His Beatitude Nicolae: With God's will and perseverance, we will manage to be together and see again the places which, against my will, I could not reach since 6 October 1946. I wish you all a Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. May God bless you and guide all your actions—the messages received by fax from the spokesman of Romania's former sovereign reads. The message is signed Mihai.

Ministry Reacts to Ex-King's Statements

AU2412121192 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Statement issued by the Romanian Foreign Ministry in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] The government did not and does not set any other conditions for the [king's] visit than the ones forwarded through Romania's Embassy in Bern, conditions that were confirmed during the reception at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mr. Mihai Ricci, who was assigned to take care of the technical aspects of the visit. These conditions, namely, the private nature of the visit and the noninvolvement in actions of a political nature, were also expressed in the press communique issued by the Foreign Ministry on 22 December 1992.

On the occasion of Mr. Mihai Ricci's reception, the proposals of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on general settlement of the issue of citizenship and of the relations that the former king has with the Romanian state were reiterated.

The government reasserts its willingness to facilitate the organization of the former king's private visits to Romania, until his relations with the Romanian state are settled.

UN Reports Muslim Plan To Free Sarajevo

AU2812140492 Paris AFP in English 1333 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, Dec 28 (AFP)—Moslem Bosnian forces are massing troops and weapons outside Sarajevo for a "major offensive" aimed at breaking the Serbian siege of the capital city, a U.N. spokesman said Monday [28 December].

Fred Eckhard, spokesman for the international conference here on the Yugoslav conflict, said the U.N. Protection Force in Yugoslavia has been reporting on a "significant build-up in government personnel and arms on the Igman mountains surrounding Sarajevo."

"There may be a major offensive in preparation to try to regain lost territory or even to free Sarajevo," he said.

The deputy leader of Bosnian Serbs, Nikolai Koljevic, who was here for a January 2 meeting of the three main parties involved in the fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina, also said he was certain of an imminent offensive.

"We are informed about an already prepared Moslem offensive" which could be launched before the January 2 meeting, he said.

British Soldier Wounded in Attack on UN HQ

LD2412171792 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—At 0900 this morning, three mortar shells were fired in the direction of the blue helmets [UN Protection Force] headquarters in the post and telecommunications building in Sarajevo, TANJUG learned in the UN Protection Force office [UNPROFOR] in Belgrade.

Although the shells missed the target, one British soldier was slightly wounded in the attack, it was said in the UNPROFOR office in Belgrade.

The UNPROFOR stresses that at the time of the attack, French General Philippe Morillon, commander of the blue helmets in Bosnia-Hercegovina, was expecting the arrival of Indian General Satish Nambiar, the main UN protection forces commander.

UNPROFOR HQ Partially Moved From Sarajevo

LD2612184092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1739 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Part of the blue helmets headquarters was today transferred from Sarajevo to Kiseljak, where the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] Command for Bosnia-Hercegovina is based, TANJUG has learned from UNPROFOR in Belgrade.

French General Philippe Morillon, commander of the blue helmets in Bosnia-Hercegovina remained in Sarajevo, where his headquarters will also remain.

The blue helmets headquarters in Sarajevo was a target of mortar attacks yesterday and the day before. Nine shells exploded in the vicinity of the UN headquarters in that time. One British soldier was slightly wounded in the attack of 24 December.

Serb Leaders, Morillon Discuss Sarajevo Situation

LD2612185292 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1715 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] At 1200 today, a meeting began in Pale between Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], Nikola Koljevic, vice-president of the Serb Republic, Lieutenant Colonel Ratko Mladic, commander of the General Staff of the Serb Republic Army, and General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. The subject of the talks is the opening of humanitarian corridors and the departure of civilians from Sarajevo.

Karadzic, Morillon Discuss Evacuation of Civilians

AU2512172792 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by Risto Djogo from Sarajevo]

[Text] Muslim forces in Visoko and Breza continue to pound the Serbian positions in Cekrcici, Sovrle, and the very center of Ilijas with artillery. According to Serbian military sources, the green berets [muslim forces] also shelled the Croatian village of Kupresic near Kiseljak last night with the intention of accusing the Serbs. The Croatian Defense Council, however, saw right through the scheme and a new Sarajevo front was not opened.

General Philippe Morillon, head of the blue helmets [UN Protection Forces] for the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, was briefed about this incident today during his talks with [Bosnian] Serbian President Radovan Karadzic. Morillon was also informed of the attack at the UN Protection Force command in Sarajevo.

The Karadzic-Morillon meeting was held in Pale today and dealt with the evacuation of the civilian population from the Muslim part of the town. According to some sources, the evacuation should start tomorrow and would involve approximately 1,500 residents of this hellish town.

Serbs Agree To Open Aid Corridor to Sarajevo

LD2512163992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1506 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Radovan Karadzic, president of the Serb Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina], and General Philippe Morillon, commander of the UN Protection Forces for Bosnia-Hercegovina have held talks about free passage of civilians from and to Sarajevo, SRNA reports.

SRNA reports that the Serb side gave its approval for the opening of humanitarian corridors and indicated its readiness to enable, under certain conditions, the delivery of coal and oil to Sarajevo.

After the meeting, General Morillon told journalists that the Serb side had agreed in principle to open the humanitarian corridors.

"Now we must create practical conditions. I think that the basic precondition is the cessation of combat activities", Morillon said.

Commenting on the readiness to enable the delivery of oil and coal, Radovan Karadzic said that this had to be planned in detail so that none of the warring sides could use the opening of the corridor for combat activities.

"If the Muslims abuse this then it is clear that they are against peace, i.e., that they do not want to help the suffering Sarajevo inhabitants", Karadzic said.

Sarajevo Civilians Not Permitted To Leave City

LD2512171392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1523 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—SRNA reports, citing Serb military sources, that 1,500 civilians will not leave Sarajevo today as was planned.

According to Serb reports, the Muslim side refused to sign the document, which provides for the evacuation of civilians, despite an agreement with General Philippe Morillon, United Nations Protection Forces commander for Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The reasons why the Muslim side did not permit the agreed evacuation of civilians —500 Serbs, Croats and Muslims each—are not known.

Muslims Reject Plan To Evacuate Civilians

LD2712170292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1605 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 27 (TANJUG)—Moslem authorities in Bosnia-Hercegovina have rejected a plan on the evacuation of 1,500 civilians from Sarajevo proposed by the Serb side.

The plan was rejected under the pretext of its being based on ethnicity.

Cochairman of the Geneva conference on former Yugoslavia, Lord David Owen has mediated in making the evacuation possible.

Ejup Ganic, vice-president of the Bosnian Presidency loyal to Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic, told REUTER that the Presidency was "willing to discuss a different evacuation scheme" but that it would not agree to an ethnically based plan.

Officers of the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Sarajevo, who are expected to meet with Moslem officials on Sunday [27 December] to discuss the evacuation, are still optimistic and believe that an agreement would be reached, said REUTER.

The planned evacuation of three groups of 500 people from each of Bosnia's main population groups—Serbs, Moslems and Croats—was expected over the Christmas holidays but the operation was put off because UNPROFOR could not guarantee safety.

The Bosnian authorities on Saturday allowed 15 disabled people of different nationalities to leave Sarajevo, says REUTER. This was done for purely humanitarian, not political reasons, REUTER quoted Ganic as saying.

"We are fighting a war against the ethnic division of Bosnia... We won't participate in an ethnic scheme," the news agency quotes Ganic as saying.

Muslim Plan for Sarajevo Aid Corridor Rejected

LD2612203192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1935 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Mixed military commissions of the warring sides met again at Sarajevo airport today to negotiate the opening of three humanitarian corridors from Sarajevo, SRNA reports.

The representatives of the Muslim military commission demanded the demilitarization of the area around the left and right sides of the corridor and the deployment of UN Protection Force soldiers along this route. The opinion of the Serb and Croat sides is that this Muslim proposal is unrealistic and impossible. The negotiations of the military representatives are continuing.

Evacuation Postponed Until After Christmas

LD2412221592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2058 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—The evacuation of around 1,500 civilians from Sarajevo did not take place on Thursday [24 December] as planned on the grounds of an agreement between the three warring sides—Moslems, Croats and Serbs—in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

A civil, ethnic and religious war has been raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina for over eight months between Moslems and Croats, on one side, and local Serbs, on the other.

The evacuation has been postponed until after Christmas because the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Sarajevo cannot guarantee the safety of the civilians, it was announced at a press conference at the UNPROFOR headquarters in Sarajevo.

According to the latest agreement, which was reached after much pressure on the Moslems, 500 each Moslems, Serbs and Croats were to leave the city, mostly elderly and sick people.

This is the realization of an agreement on the freedom of movement of citizens which all three warring sides signed on December 13 this year at top military levels, and which was based on earlier agreements reached by the political leaderships at meetings in London and Geneva.

The agreement on the freedom of movement of citizens was part of a package of measures for the pacification and demilitarization of Sarajevo, and the Serb side insists on its realization, accusing the Moslem authorities of holding Serbs in the city as 'ethnic hostages.'

The Moslem side has so far always avoided carrying out this agreement under the pretext that Serbs want to evacuate civilians in order to take the entire city after that.

Last weekend, the Moslem authorities forcibly stopped the rallying of Serbs in new Sarajevo. The Serbs had been trying to leave the Bosnia-Hercegovina capital and cross into Serb-held territory in the suburb of Ilidza.

The authorities of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina said that real state terror had been introduced over the Serbs after that. Serbs disappear into the night, they are arrested in the streets and not allowed to return to their homes, having been told that Moslems had already moved into them, the authorities said.

That is why the authorities of the Serb republic have said in talks with Yugoslavia conference cochairman Lord Owen that the agreement on the pacification of Sarajevo can be realized only after the realization of the agreement on freedom of movement of citizens.

Muslim Authorities Reportedly Mobilizing Civilians

LD2612131992 Belgrade SRNA in Serbo-Croatian 1015 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] The military and civilian police of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina are today forcibly mobilizing civilians in the Muslim part of Sarajevo, the information center of the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps announces. A statement goes on to say that citizens of all three nationalities, regardless of their age and health, are liable to the mobilization. The Muslim authorities are taking all forcibly mobilized people to the Jusuf Dzonlic barracks.

Serb, Croat Elected to Presidency

AU2412154692 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 Gmt 24 Dec 92

[Excerpts] At today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, Tatjana Djuic-Mijatovic and Miro Lasic were elected new members. Miro Lazovic has been elected chairman of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Parliament. The newly-elected members of the Presidency and the new ministers in the government took their oaths today. Nada Rajkovic reports.

[Passage omitted] [Rajkovic] This is how Tatjana Djuic-Mijatovic and Miro Lasic, newly-elected members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, took their oaths in front of Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency. They gave the following statements for Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina.

[Begin Djuic-Mijatovic recording] I have just told my new colleague that I am very thrilled and very pleasantly surprised, because I believe that the Serbian people in this land need help and support. I want to help, as far as I can, the Serbian people who have stayed here together with all the other people [words indistinct]. [end recording]

[Begin Lasic recording] By accepting this high office in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency as the representative of the Croatian people, I am aware that I have taken on an extremely serious responsibility, together with the other members of the Presidency, for the present and future of the country, for [words indistinct]. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Presidency To Decide on Izetbegovic's Mandate

LD2612135492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 1305 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Talks are continuing at Sarajevo's airport today concerning opening a route into the city and stopping the siege. The commander of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] forces in Bosnia-Hercegovina, General Philippe Morillon, is reported to be optimistic, but this is not believed in Sarajevo because five days ago he said electricity would be returned to the hospital but it has not, nor has water or heating.

The city itself has been peaceful today. A session of the Bosnian-Hercegovinian Presidency has been announced which is to decide whether to extend Alija Izetbegovic's mandate as president of the presidency.

Prisoners Pardoned; New Media Chiefs Appointed

LD2612164392 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Statement from a session of Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, chaired by President Alija Izetbegovic; place and date of issue not stated—read by announcer]

[Text] As a unilateral act of goodwill, the Presidency has decided to release a number of prisoners, except for those accused of war crimes.

The Presidency discussed a report by [name indistinct], director of the Agency for Displaced Persons and Refugees. Hundreds of thousands of persons are stranded, above all in eastern Bosnia where they cannot receive

any kind of humanitarian aid. The aid sent to these areas is symbolic and it cannot satisfy the population's needs. The Presidency gave its support to the efforts of the Agency for Displaced Persons and Refugees to coordinate the cooperation of all those involved in this kind of activity.

At today's session, the Presidency relieved Mehmed Agovic of his responsibilities as director of Bosnia-Hercegovina radio and television and appointed Mufid Memija in his place. The Presidency also relieved Nedim Loncarevic of his responsibilities as editor in chief of Bosnia-Hercegovina television and appointed Zdenko Vranjes in his place. Mile Akmadic was relieved of his responsibilities as the Presidency's general secretary because of his election as prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Opposition Rejects Government Proposals

AU2312193292 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92

[passages within quotation marks recorded]

[Text] Yesterday, the Presidency held a session in which it was acting in lieu of Parliament, and subsequently held another session in which the Government's program was adopted. Today the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government sat in session, and this afternoon the Presidency's session is expected to end. The reconstruction of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government is on the agenda.

What does the opposition, which participated in the previous government, think about all this? Nada Rajkovic reports.

[Rajkovic] Prof. Muhamed Filipovic, representative of the United Opposition, had some objections to yesterday's statement by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency.

[Filipovic] "The opposition did not exactly walk out of the session, but rather it refused to discuss one issue that, in our view, had not been satisfactorily prepared, since the necessary debates had not taken place that would have included a serious discussion of the issue. We do not want to participate in a mere imitation of democracy, and we do not want to indulge in this kind of managing and regulating, that is, making decisions on the fate of this country based on a policy of bipartite authority.

You see, we do not want this particularly because the two parties in power today, upon whom the fate of Bosnia depends, insist that they are the only authentic representatives of the two ethnic groups. We see far-reaching negative consequences. It seems to us that this removes the right of other people, other parties, to represent the ethnic groups. On the other hand, we see the democratic foundation of Bosnia-Hercegovina's legitimate authorities reduced to only two ethnic groups. That automatically legitimizes a special status for the third ethnic group, or, in other words, it legitimizes secession and aggression. That is why we cannot agree to that. So we are not talking in terms of any special practical or traditional reasons for this view. We could, I suppose, accept a mandate for [Prime Minister] Akmadzic to form a government, but we want a regular democratic procedure and the establishment of a clear political stance by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government. We will not accept any government that does not rely on the widest democratic base for the legitimacy of Bosnia-Hercegovina's authorities."

[Rajkovic] Does this mean that this program of the government was not adopted yesterday at the session of the Presidency in which it was acting on behalf of Parliament, but only at the Presidency session proper?

[Filipovic] "I think that it was adopted at the Presidency session proper, but if, by talking of the Presidency acting in lieu of Parliament, one implies that all the parliamentary parties were involved, then this was obviously not the case. We are a part of the functioning democratic mechanism of Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we can say that five opposition parties did not participate, and so all the decisions were made by two parties: the Party of Democratic Action and the Croatian Democratic Community."

[Rajkovic] Will the opposition parties participate in the next government?

[Filipovic] "Of course, we will not participate if it is a two-party government as [words indistinct]. We want a debate on the political views of the government. So we cannot accept a government that will not stand explicitly for the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We will not recognize any government that might recognize, for example, Herceg-Bosnia or the Serbian Republic [of Bosnia-Hercegovina] in any form whatsoever. In other words, that would accept the ethnic principle in the division of Bosnia. Also, we will not recognize any government that will rely on the support of only two ethnic entities. It has to be a government of Bosnia-Hercegovina national unity. We will not recognize any government that might not function on democratic and parliamentarian grounds and in compliance with what we have already agreed upon in Geneva. We formulated in Geneva that Bosnia-Hercegovina can be only a democratic parliamentary [word indistinct] republic, based on the equality of all the people, all the ethnic groups that live in it, with a broad decentralization and autonomy rights. That is our starting point in formulating our political programs and views."

UN Refugee Head Warns Against Intervention

LD2612113192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0938 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Tokyo, December 26 (TANJUG)—United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR] Sadako Ogata has warned that a military intervention against Bosnian Serbs would prevent relief shipments of

food and medicines from reaching Bosnia-Hercegovina and would cause more civilians to die of starvation and cold.

Ogata, a Japanese citizen, met with Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe during a brief Christmas holiday in Tokyo.

She said that a possible decision of the U.N. Security Council to enforce its decision on a no-fly zone by preventing flights of Bosnian Serb aircraft over Bosnia-Hercegovina could endanger UNHCR actions launched to help the three million civilians caught up in the civil war in that former Yugoslav republic.

Christmas Cease-Fire Believed Secured

LD2612084792 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] British officers believe they have secured a Christmas cease-fire in central Bosnia, a British spokesman, Major (Martin Walters), said. He added that Colonel (Bob Stewart), commander of the Cheshire Regiment, agreed on the cease-fire during his talks with commanders of the Serb forces on Thursday.

If the temporary Christmas cease-fire holds, it will last until 9 January. The cease-fire to which Muslims and Croats obviously agreed should refer to towns on the first line of defense: Turbe, Travnik, and Bugojno.

Clinton Urged To Acknowledge Serb Rights

AU2312163692 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Report by Dragomir Stankic]

[Text] The association of the Serbs from the republic of Serbian Krajina and from former Bosnia-Hercegovina who are concerned for the future of the Serbian people on these territories and upset by the threats from various sides have decided to organize several news conferences in the days before Christmas—days of peace that all Christians observe—at which they would put forward several new proposals for the resolution of problems that the entire world is concerning itself with, president of the association Gojko Djogo said.

These will be new appeals issued to the world public to promote a different interpretation of the problems that the Serbian people on these territories are facing. You must agree, Gojko Djogo said, that the proposals offered so far have produced no results. The drama is growing increasingly more serious and the future more uncertain.

A new peace project was distributed to journalists in the form of a letter which emphasizes that the Serbian republic remains firm in its desire for an immediate halt to the war in former Bosnia-Hercegovina and begin political talks within the Geneva conference without prejudicing political or territorial solutions. The Serbian republic is also determined to exchange all prisoners of war and close all prisons.

An appeal was also issued to the American nation, expressing regret that the truth has been so incredibly distorted and the Americans misinformed about the essence of our crisis. The Serbian nation has been deliberately vilified, the letter stresses, so that it could be attacked and destroyed without responsibility before the nation.

President of the Serbian republic Radovan Karadzic particularly stressed that he would ask newly elected President Clinton to acknowledge the right to self-determination and their own state to the Serbs in Croatia and former Bosnia-Hercegovina, just as in the case of the Slovenes and the Croats. Only President-elect Clinton can make a turnaround, stop the vilification of the Serbs, and prevent a third world war, Karadzic believes.

The Americans and Serbs must resume their good, friendly relations that were established more than 100 years ago at the consular convention of Serbia and America.

An appeal was also issued to the Russian nation that is now awakening and restoring its glory, and to the friendly nations of Greeks, Indians, Chinese, Romanians, Spanish, and others, whom similar international injustice and brutality could befall.

Radovan Karadzic asked foreign journalists when had they heard a single statement of peace from the Muslim side. I, therefore, implore you, Karadzic stressed, that you now ask the Muslims whether they want war or peace.

Karadzic Thanks British, French Public

LD2512213592 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2029 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 December (TANJUG)—I am assuring the British and French public that the Serb side has not flown any combat sorties, and that official UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Force] reports are correct, i.e., Serbs are not using aircraft for combat purposes.

This was stressed by Radovan Karadzic, the President of the Serb Republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina, this evening in his message to the British and French public and French peace movements in connection with their support for a peaceful solution to the crisis in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina, SRNA news agency reports.

He added that the only sorties flown by Serb aircraft are "flights to evacuate the wounded and dead and training flights which are under UNPROFOR control."

The President of the Serb Republic thanked the British and French public for their understanding of the

problem and gave them support for their advocacy of a political solution for the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Yugoslavia.

"In this message I am also giving firm assurances and promises to the same public that the Serb side will not fly combat sorties, i.e., will not use its aircraft for combat purposes, and in this respect any resolution allowing the use of force in this sphere is completely unnecessary and would only be an introduction to further catastrophe," Karadzic stressed.

Karadzic Assesses Chances for World War

LD2512220292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2129 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Athens, December 25 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic said World War III might break out in spring when ethnic Albanians in the Serbian Province of Kosovo stage a rebellion, Croatia launches an offensive on Knin and Krajina, and Albania, Turkey and Russia intervene.

In an exclusive interview to the latest issue of the Greek political weekly PONDIKI, Karadzic said that a foreign intervention on Serbs in Bosnia would "mean the beginning of World War III."

Karadzic said he hoped that an end to the war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina would be agreed at a meeting in Geneva scheduled for January 2.

He added the best solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina would be the Cypriot model—to draw a "green line" between the three nations—and then look for a political solution.

Karadzic believes that the "green line" would separate the three nations and form three national states because "Serbs, Croats and Moslems will never be able to live together."

On Serbs in Krajina, who declared a republic in parts of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia where they are the majority population, Karadzic said they could decide to either "move to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, form an independent state or join Serbian Bosnia."

He noted that all nations in the Balkans were "in danger because the United States has abandoned its allies—Serbs and Greeks—by supporting the German interests," which Karadzic sees as a sure sign of World War III.

He believes "time has come for border changes (in the Balkans as a whole), but in a peaceful manner."

Karadzic also believes that next spring, ethnic Albanians will stage a rebellion in Kosovo, Serbia's southern province. This will in turn lead to a war between Serbia and Albania, a Turkish intervention on the side of Albania and Moslems in Bosnia, and a Russian involvement "which again means World War III."

The leader of Serbs in Bosnia said "Croats are preparing an offensive on Knin and Krajina in spring." In that case "the new Yugoslavia will be obliged to support Krajina and Knin," Karadzic said.

Serbs Charged With Using Chemical Weapons

LD2712093592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0805 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Serb forces continue to pound the northeastern Bosnian town of Gradacac. Serb ground forces' back-up tank support are reported to have attempted to break through the town's defense lines, but were repelled.

Defenders in Brcko are also said to have stopped Serbian tanks from penetrating the frontlines there. Reports from the area charge Serbs with using chemical weapons in the latest attacks.

Serbs Launch Air Attack on Srebrenica

LD2612150592 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] After a heavy defeat inflicted on the chetniks in fighting around Zvornik and Srebrenica, the aggressor today launched another artillery attack and used the air force as well. In the past four days alone, the aggressor has made 24 air raids, dropping 500-kg bombs and cluster bombs on inhabited areas in the Srebrenica region.

At around 0700 this morning, the chetniks attacked a column of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] vehicles on the Miljanovci-Kalesija road. One British tank driver was wounded, as well as two fighters of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army who helped the Britons get out of the crossfire.

Muslim Forces Release Serb Prisoners

LD2412153192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1407 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—Forces loyal to the Moslem government in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina on Thursday [24 December] released 111 Bosnian Serbs in response to an appeal by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

ICRC officials met individually with all of the released prisoners to try to establish whether they wished to leave Bosnia-Hercegovina or not, the ICRC said in a statement.

Eighty-one prisoners were transferred to the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro and handed to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees while the other 30 decided to stay in Bosnia. The ICRC noted with regret that the number of Serbs still kept by the Moslem

forces is by far greater than the number of the released. Despite agreements to that effect, Bosnian Croats have still not begun to free the imprisoned Serbs, says the statement.

The ICRC appealed to the three confronted sides to immediately release all prisoners, in keeping with the U.N.-brokered agreement reached in Geneva last October. Late last week, the last group of imprisoned Moslems and Croats was released from the detention centre Manjaca and it was closed down.

Official Produces War Statistics

AU2412183892 Paris AFP in English 1825 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpt] Belgrade, Dec 24 (AFP)—[passage omitted] In Zagreb, Bosnian Interior Ministry spokesman Mugdim Galijasevic said that around 800,000 shells had been shot into the Bosnian capital Sarajevo since war began in Bosnia-Hercegovina last April.

In a HINA news agency report, he said these represented a total of 24 million kilograms (52.8 pounds) of steel and explosive, or 30 kilograms per resident.

Some 8,000 Sarajevo residents have been killed, 50,000 wounded, 14,000 of them seriously. Among the victims are 900 children killed and 12,000 wounded.

Sarajevo is surrounded by some 600 pieces of Serb heavy artillery, including tanks, multiple rocket launchers and cannons.

"Unfortunately, many other cities in Bosnia-Hercegovina are in the same situation, including Mostar (south), Gorazde (east), Jajce (center), Gradacac, Bosanski Brod, Derventa, Maglaj (all in the north) and Bihac (northwest)", Galijasevic said.

He gave overall figures for the war as 130,000 dead, including 13,000 children, and 63,000 people seriously wounded, among them 5,000 children.

The figures could not be independently confirmed, but Bosnian officials have said the data is tabulated through eyewitness accounts.

Tudjman Receives Bosnian Foreign Minister

LD2412144492 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] President Franjo Tudjman today received Bosnia-Hercegovina Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic in the presidential palace. He was accompanied by Hajrudin Somun, adviser to the president of the Bosnia-Hercegovina presidency. According to a statement from the president's office, the talks covered improvement in cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, agreements connected with preparations for the meeting in Geneva, and problems concerning accommodation and the care of refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Also present at the meeting was Jure Radic, head of the president's office.

Mesic Supports Continued UNPROFOR Presence

LD2312172592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1633 GMT 23 Dec 92

[Text] Paris, December 23 (TANJUG)—President of the Croatian Parliament Stipe Mesic on Wednesday [23 December] said he was for the renewal of the United Nations Protection Force's (UNPROFOR) mandate in the U.N. Protected Areas (UNPAs) in the former Yugoslav Republic of Croatia after the current one-year mandate expires in March.

Mesic told the Paris daily LE MONDE that "the U.N. should be asked to complete its mission, not to halt its efforts". The alternative would be war, Mesic said and added he was against such an "adventure".

This is the first time a Croatian senior official asked the UNPROFOR to remain on territories within Croatia's administrative borders, in which the Serbs make up the majority population, until a political solution is found, as the Vance plan envisages.

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman has so far urged that the UNPROFOR complete its mission by March—Croatian politicians interpret the UNPROFOR mission as helping Croatia regain its jurisdiction over UNPAs. If it fails to do so, the Croatian forces will regain these territories even if they have to use force, Tudjman has warned.

Serbs living in Croatia stood up against Croatia's unilateral secession from the former Yugoslavia because they did not want to lose their status of a constituent nation and be reduced to a national minority. After several months of armed conflicts in territories in which Serbs make up the majority population, the United Nations decided to deploy its forces in these territories.

Daily Protests To Maintain Independence

LD2612180992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1723 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Zagreb, Dec. 26 (TANJUG)—The trade unions of newsmen and printing works employees of the SLOBODNA DALMACIJA newspaper in the Croatian Adriatic city of Split have called a strike for December 28 in an effort to maintain an independent editorial policy. SLOBODNA DALMACIJA is the only independent daily in the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia.

The press in Croatia is under state censorship decreed by President Franjo Tudjman. Disobedient journalists have been dismissed, while the independent weekly DANAS has been shut down for criticizing the authorities. The weekly, under the name 'NOVI DANAS', was reopened by DANAS editors and an independent publisher but after a few issues also was shut down.

The SLOBODNA DALMACIJA trade unions said they would strike because the paper's original editorial policy was being substantially affected by a recently imposed state management board and an acting general manager.

The trade unions demanded that the management board should "no longer interfere in the editorial policy" but that it should take urgent steps to transform the enterprise to meet its employees' interest.

Zagreb Daily Calls Major Visit 'Unacceptable'

LD2412151892 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1442 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Zagreb, Dec 24 (TANJUG)—British Prime Minister John Major's sudden and unexpected arrival in the Croatian city of Split en route to Bosnia-Hercegovina can definitely be listed as a political scandal at the end of 1992, the Zagreb daily NOVI VJESNIK said on Thursday [24 December].

Major arrived in the former Yugoslavia to visit the British contingent of the United Nations Protection Force and to wish them a merry Christmas and a happy new year.

None of the official Croatian government representatives were informed of Major's visit, NOVI VJESNIK said.

"It is true we are a country that is freshly out of a war. It is also true we only recently became a full member of the United Nations. But we are not a 'banana republic' which anyone can roam as he wishes," NOVI VJESNIK said.

"The British prime minister's intentions might have been good, but the results are unacceptable, both for traditional British protocol and for Croatia", the daily said.

NOVI VJESNIK said it was unusual for a country's prime minister to spend some time on the territory of a sovereign state with which his state has normal diplomatic relations, without informing the state's authorities of his trip and his intentions.

Krajina Government Lauds FRY Elections

LD2512063992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1539 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Knin, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The elections in the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro were regular and democratic. This is stressed in an official statement of the

Government of the Republic of Serb Krajina. Election results reflect the freely expressed will of the people, which rules out all objections by other parties and foreign observers, the Republic of Serb Krajina Government says. Here is the statement:

"It is most likely that objections would not be raised if the elections were 'democratic' in the sense of serving interest of countries and organizations which sent their observers."

As far as stands and assessements of leaders of opposition parties in the FRY and Serbia are concerned, the Krajina Government voiced its astonishment that they cannot accept elections results, although elections were called at their request. Opposition parties and leaders wanted in that way to take over the power irrespective of the views of the electorate. The statement finally voices the conviction that mutually good relations between Krajina and Yugoslavia would expand.

Krajina Police Accuse Croats of 'Provocations'

LD2612202392 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1855 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Beli Manastir, Dec. 26 (TANJUG)—Provocations have been continuing by the Croatian forces stationed in the Tvrdjavica region in Baranja (the area situated in a triangle formed by the Danube and Drava rivers and the Hungarian border), a Serb police source said on Saturday.

The Beli Manastir-based regional police H.Q. of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) cautioned that despite several months of provocations, UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] had not intervened with the Croatian side and still less so informed the world public of what was going on.

The RSK, of which Baranja is a part, is under UNPROFOR's protection. It was proclaimed in the predominantly Serb-populated sections of the ex-Yugoslav Republic of Croatia when it seceded.

Provocations coming from the Croatian side intensify daily, TANJUG was told by a regional police officer who also deplored the disquiet even on the Christmas eve.

The officer, who asked not to be mentioned by name, added "we are ready to answer any attack at any time and successfully defend these territories."

Policemen Reportedly Ease Up on Krajina Positions

AU2712161092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Report by Danko Peric]

[Text] It has been noticed that in the days just before Christmas, there were less actions by the Croatian policemen against the Krajina's positions in Lika and Dalmatia. However, regrouping and a concentration of fresh troops are becoming increasingly apparent.

The hamlet of Njegovani in Pocitelj near Metak was targeted by automatic infantry arms and mortars from the Croatian positions in Ribnik last night. Cista Mala in the Skradin hinterland was targeted by infantry arms last night. An attempt of infiltration by a Croatian Army saboteur group was thwarted in this region.

For the New Year, the Nenazic petrol pump paid 60,000 dinars to all families of deceased Krajina fighters in the Knin commune. The owner of the pump, Vojislav Nenazic, also set up a permanent fund to help families of deceased and wounded soldiers.

Serb Official Accuses Tudjman, Panic of Genocide

LD2612183992 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1325 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Erdut, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Milanovic, assistant defense minister of Serb Krajina [RSK], indicated in an open letter to UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali that charges will be brought against Croatian President Tudjman and former Osijek commander Branimir Glavas [now president of Osijek municipal executive committee] for committing genocide against the Serb nation [in Croatia].

"We have evidence and witnesses, members of various ethnic groups, that genocide was carried out against the Serb population in many places which are now part of the RSK and also in places under control of Croatian authorities," the letter stresses.

The letter to Ghali lists the towns and villages where genocide has been committed. This list includes Vukovar, Torjanci in Baranja, Srpsko Jelenovo (former Sarvas), Divos, Paulin Dvor, Markusica, Karadzicevo, and some other places in the Serb area of Slavonija, Baranja, and Western Srem [eastern Croatia].

According to the letter, charges will also be brought against Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic because, following a general amnesty [in Yugoslavia], he illegally released war criminals who carried out genocide against innocent civilians in this area.

Croatian Party of Rights Forms Youth Wing

LD2612221292 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Summary] The youth wing of the Croatian Party of Rights was founded in Zagreb today. Dobroslav Paraga, chairman of the Croatian Party of Rights, stressed that the youth wing will in the future form the kernel of the party. He said the youth wing has been formed relatively late since most of the young members of the Croatian Party of Rights were involved in the defense of the homeland from the first days of the war and have not had time for political organization.

Skrabalo Satisfied With CSCE Meeting

AU2212183592 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 92 p 3

[Unattributed report on the news conference by Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo in Zagreb on 16 December: "Inefficient Europe"]

[Text] Zagreb—"European peace is very fragile, as are the democratic changes in the former socialist countries, but Europe itself is still incapable of taking any radical steps," Foreign Minister Dr. Zdenko Skrabalo said at a news conference on Wednesday [16 December], following the meeting of foreign ministers of the CSCE countries in Stockholm.

Skrabalo said that former Yugoslavia and the crisis in that region was the main topic of the meeting, where for the first time Europe had clearly stated that Serbia and its paramilitary forces were behind the aggression on Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia and that Croatia was not at any time mentioned in a negative context. It is particularly important for Croatia that the CSCE resolution fully supports the implementation of the Vance plan, and the European countries have committed themselves to greater efforts to accommodate refugees, now the refugee issue is defined as a European problem. The Croatian delegation insisted on a widening of UNPROFOR's [UN Protection Force] mandate, better accommodation for refugees, and the earliest possible integration of Croatia into international financial circles. In addition to the main meeting, the Croatian delegation held 17 bilateral meetings. The subject of these was the initiative of President Franjo Tudjman in arranging a summit of Adriatic-Danubian countries. The Ukraine will take part in this, while Italy and Poland showed great interest in it. It was agreed that first expert groups should meet at the end of January, and then in February the actual summit should take place.

Other meetings were also agreed, and there will soon be a meeting between Skrabalo and German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel. Relations with the new Greek foreign minister were established, and at a joint meeting with Italy and Albania the search for a solution to the mutual problems of the three countries was also discussed. The foreign minister of Denmark, the country that will preside over the CSCE from the beginning of next year, is coming to visit us as well, and the Swedish delegation also announced a visit to Croatia.

A plan was approved to have representatives of central European countries visit Washington on 21 and 22 December and hold talks with the old and the new U.S. administrations. Thus the central European countries, along with the Islamic countries, are building up pressure upon the United Nations to act more effectively.

Talking to the journalists, Skrabalo and his aides pointed out that feelings of restlessness and distress prevailed in the CSCE because Bosnia was the principle European crisis point, together with Russia's descent into chaos, as ambassador Ana Marija Besker said. The outburst of Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev was discussed, Skrabalo considering this unusual diplomatic speech to be a kind of cry for help for the Yeltsin line. At the CSCE meeting it was confirmed that Croatia does not want to suspend the UNPROFOR mandate unilaterally, but it does insist on the effective implementation of the Vance plan. The demands of President Tudjman for the setting up of deadlines for the implementation of some stages of the plan should add a new dimension to UNPROFOR activity in Croatia.

Federal

Cosic To Participate in Geneva Talks on Bosnia

LD2812140392 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1304 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Geneva, 28 Dec (TANJUG)—FRY President Dobrica Cosic will take part in talks between the leaders of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Hercegovina, their military commanders, and representatives of the governments in Belgrade and Zagreb which are to be held on 2 January in Geneva, President Cosic's special adviser Dragoslav Rancic stated today.

In diplomatic circles in Geneva and in the closest circles of the conference on former Yugoslavia, President Cosic is considered to be the key person who can contribute to a peaceful outcome of the Bosnian crisis as a mediator, Rancic said.

President Cosic should come to Geneva a day before the beginning of the January summit, at which the permanent cessation of hostilities, the demilitarization of Sarajevo, the free movement of civilians, and the safe delivery of humanitarian aid will be discussed.

Cosic 'Convinced' Talks 'Useful'

AU2712162092 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Interview with President Dobrica Cosic by Mira Adanja Polak at Surcin Airport on 27 Dec—recorded]

[Text] [Polak] Mr. President, I wish you a successful trip. Tell me, how do you feel? Do you think anything will be achieved in Geneva?

[Cosic] I hope to talk with people who understand the situation on the Yugoslav territory very well, who know very well what is going on in Bosnia. I am deeply convinced that these talks will be useful. I am willing to cooperate with them to promote peace—which is, as you know, of vital importance for our nation and the survival of Yugoslavia.

[Polak] Your departure to Geneva in a way represents reconciliation, a desire for talks—and this is reassuring for us, Mr. Cosic.

[Cosic] Well, needless to say, I am performing this duty because I am trying to find a compromise and establish a dialogue with all people of goodwill. The people that I am going to talk to in Geneva are—judging by everything they have done and proven so far—people of goodwill and peace.

[Polak] A thousand thanks, Mr. Cosic! (?We trust in you), thank you!

[Cosic] Thank you and so long!

Cosic To Remain President For Time Being

LD2612162692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1531 GMT 26 Dec 92

[TANJUG Report: "I Will Not Resign for the Time Being, Says Yugoslav President"]

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Dobrica Cosic on Saturday [26 December] told Patriarch Pavle of the Serbian Orthodox Church that he would resign only when he came to the conclusion that he would serve the people better that way.

Cosic's press aide Dragoslav Rancic said the president told the patriarch in a meeting behind closed doors that in making this decision, he was for the first time motivated by appeals made by others and not by his personal beliefs.

According to Rancic, Cosic wandered whether his withdrawal would be "an encouragement to the good, a threat to the bad and the determining factor for the hesitant" and urged concerted action by the state and the church for the benefit of the people.

Cosic also reiterated his wish to work for major changes and noted that cooperation with the federal parliament left much to be desired, said Rancic and added that the president also expected difficulties with the new parliament.

Before the early federal, republic and local elections in Yugoslavia on December 20, Cosic had spoken about his troublesome relations with the federal parliament and threatened to resign if the new parliament was not prepared to opt for major reforms in the foreign and home policies and for the country's comprehensive democratization.

Rancic quoted the patriarch as saying that it was in the interest of the people that Cosic remained federal president.

Patriarch Pavle also paid tribute to Cosic for his wise conduct in these tragic times, said Rancic. Such a conduct can help those who hold responsible public offices to be more flexible and realistic on the one hand, and more resolute and patriotic on the other, in order to contribute to overall unity and harmony, the patriarch said.

Patriarch Pavle was especially interested in the international situation, i.e. whether the threats of a military intervention were real, and in the position of Serbs outside Yugoslavia, particularly in the Bosnian Serb Republic.

"My mind cannot grasp those who favour the use of force. The Serb question is also a European and a global question," because all peoples are affected by it, said Cosic.

Commenting on the U.N.-imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia, Cosic said new accusations were being fabricated all the time as a pretext for additional threats.

The U.N. Security Council on May 30 imposed stiff sanctions against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia

over its alleged involvement in the civil war in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Cosic Says World Out To Destroy FRY

LD2712191592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1826 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y) Dobrica Cosic said that the human rights issue was a pretext for the European Community, the Catholic- Germanic world and then the Islamic world and the United States to support the disintegration of former Yugoslavia.

This same issue now gives them a 'mandate' to try and destroy the F.R.Y (made up of Serbia and Montenegro) by "supporting Albanian secessionists in Kosovo as well as in Vojvodina, where the issue of the Hungarian minority is openly manipulated with", Cosic said in an interview to the Lisbon daily DIARIO DE NOTICIAS.

A strong separatist movement of ethnic Albanians has been active in the Serb province of Kosovo and Metohija. Their leaders organized the illegal proclamation of 'Kosovo republic', wishing to annex Kosovo to Albania, which supports their efforts.

Cosic criticized Europe for its inadequate understanding of the history of the Balkans and drew attention to Islam's new expansionism in the Balkans.

Speaking about the situation in the F.R.Y, Cosic said "I reject the very idea of a civil war which, it seems to me, poses no genuine peril. However, the dynamics of confrontations is very strong and I think it will become greater."

"The atmosphere is very charged because of outside pressures. We feel like we are in a ghetto and I am afraid the situation will deteriorate. Serbia is threatened by stronger sanctions and the severing of communications," Cosic said.

Cosic urged that F.R.Y political parties and leaders immediately unite so that the country could "transform into a free, democratic society."

Panic To Remain Until Milosevic Resigns

LD2512113492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1010 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, federal prime minister and candidate for Serbian president, stated for today's issue of the NIN weekly that he is staying on the political scene, and that he will not "discontinue his political activity" until, he said, "Mr. Milosevic resigns."

If Milosevic does not go, if something does not change, I believe that we will have a tragedy in the country. We are threatened with complete isolation. I have been fighting constantly against that, but the world wants to have us isolated," Panic said.

He said that "the situation is really such that this probably is one of the worst moments in our history".

Noting that the system remains unchanged, Panic stressed that the world wants "the system to be changed, not because they hate someone, but because they are afraid for themselves."

"They are afraid that a war will break out in the Balkans and that they will be drawn into it. That is the reason for their involvement, not hatred or love for Serbs or Muslims," Panic stressed.

Reiterating the already voiced assessment that "the elections were irregular" and that "they should be annulled," Panic said that he had tried as much as he could to unite opposition parties.

"I will be the democratic force of this country. I will initiate a democratic movement. Until now this has seemed to be achievable through a coalition of the opposition parties, but I hold that we need more maturity there. We need more depth and understanding. A program is needed. Political life in Yugoslavia should be developed. I probably will devote much time to that," Panic stressed.

Regarding support from the world, Panic said that "it first kept silent, and then it came too late. Some people abroad now even say that I extended Milosevic's life by six months."

Panic Says Serbia Needs Everything But Soldiers

LD2712181292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1715 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Madrid, Dec. 27 (TANJUG)—Following the publication of the official election results in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.), its President Dobrica Cosic is in the most difficult position because he will have to use all of his moral authority to secure peaceful change of the authorities and neutralize the "surprising rise of the radical nationalists," writes the Madrid daily EL PAIS on Sunday.

The daily also writes that the Socialist Party of Serbia, currently dominating the republican and federal parliaments, could, together with the Serbian Radical Party, have the necessary two- thirds majority but would like to avoid this coalition. The Socialists would prefer to set up a government with one of the opposition democratic parties. They believe this would be welcomed in Serbia and abroad.

In his interview to the Madrid daily ABC, F.R.Y. Prime Minister Milan Panic said that Serbia is in a need of many things. Everything should be sent there but certainly not soldiers, because "it is the last thing we need."

Panic said that Serbia would not let a single Turkish soldier on its soil. "We do not want either Turkish or German soldiers here," said Panic.

Serbia and Montenegro, the two republics of the Yugoslav Federation, were under the Ottoman occupation for five centuries. Germany was also an aggressor and invader in these territories in both world wars.

Panic said that he was not a Serbian Ross Perot and that, despite the last week's defeat in the Serbian presidential elections, he would continue his political struggle.

Ross Perot, the Texan millionaire, was an independent candidate who ran in the recent presidential elections in the United States next to George Bush and Bill Clinton.

Panic, the U.S. Serbian-born millionaire, said that he was going to "save Serbia" and provide "peace and prosperity," which were his election campaign slogans. "Serbia needs to restore its dignity, to pull itself out of the vicious circle of terror and to find its place among the free and democratic nations," said Panic.

Socialists Win Majority in Chamber of Citizens

LD2512014092 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2023 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Socialist Party [SPS] gained the majority of deputy seats in the Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Citizens, the federal electoral commission announced at a session this evening. The SPS, according to unofficial results, will have 47 seats, followed by the Serbian Radical Party [SRS] with 34 seats.

According to Rajko Nisavic, the chairman of the republican commission, the electoral commissions of all 10 electoral districts submitted their information to the federal commission, but final results have not been announced yet because voting will have to be repeated in 196 polling stations. [passage omitted]

Voting will be repeated in 113 polling stations in the Belgrade electoral district, which represents 11 percent of the total number of polling stations in this district. Voting will be repeated in 66 polling stations in the Pristina electoral district and in two polling stations each in the Novi Sad, Kragujevac, and Montenegro electoral districts. In the Uzice and Leskovac electoral districts voting will be repeated in three polling stations each, while this procedure will take place in five polling stations in the Nis electoral district.

Voting will be repeated in fewer than two percent of the total number of polling stations in all 10 electoral districts in Yugoslavia which could not significantly change the outcome of the elections. Repeated voting in Novi Sad, Uzice, Kragujevac, Nis, and Leskovac will take place on 27 December. Dates for Belgrade and Pristina have not yet been fixed. The law requires that voting must be repeated seven days after the commission passes such a decision, at the latest.

The third party by the number of seats gained in the Chamber of Citizens is DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], with 20 seats. It is followed by the Democratic Party of Socialists of Montenegro with 17 seats, the Democratic Party and the Socialist Party of Montenegro with five seats each, the People's Party of Montenegro with four and the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians with three seats. The coalition of the Democratic Party and the Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina [Reformska Demokratska Stranka Vojvodine] gained two seats, while the coalition of the Democratic Party, Reformist Democratic Party [Reformska Demokratska Stranka], and Citizens' Party [Gradjanska Stranka] gained one seat.

Of 36 parties which took part in the elections, 10 will be represented in federal parliament's Chamber of Citizens. According to a representative of the Federal Statistics Institute, Mladen Kovacevic, a total of 120 parties are registered in the country as a whole. [passage omitted]

Cosic Hears Complaints About Election Violations

LD2612213192 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.) Dobrica Cosic conferred on Saturday [26 December] with representatives of the topmost federal judicial institutions about the publicly presented doubts as to the regularity of the December 20 elections at some of the polling stations, the presidential office said.

President Cosic was told that the Federal Election Commission had received six complaints over violations of the law during the procedure of running the candidates. Five of the complaints were repelled. Three grievances against the decisions by the Federal Election Commission were then lodged with the federal constitutional court which repelled all of them as groundless.

President Cosic was also told that the Federal Election Commission had examined all the complaints it received concerning a variety of irregularities in the voters lists and mistakes in the work of the polling committees which, except for one case, had not had the [passage indistinct].

Cosic Adviser Summarizes Talks With Butrus-Ghali

AU2612211992 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Interview with Dr. Svetozar Stojanovic, special adviser to President Dobrica Cosic, by Sonja Djuric; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Djuric] The meeting between Dobrica Cosic and Butrus Butrus-Ghali undoubtedly is of great significance. What would you—prior to their meeting on 28 December—single out as the most significant topic? What will these talks bring about?

[Stojanovic] Mr. Vance and Lord Owen [cochairmen of the conference on Yugoslavia], and of course, Mr. Butrus-Ghali, did not intend for these talks to bring about a formal

agreement. The talks were envisaged as an introduction of two important statesmen and an exchange of opinions on international problems, the United Nations, Europe, the Balkans, and what is called the Yugoslav crisis in the broadest meaning of the word, with emphasis being placed on the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Nobody in the international community should fancy himself that he can impose a reality like the unitary Bosnia-Hercegovina, that he can invent and build a reality on false foundations.

The other problem focuses on the United Nations' approach to informing the world. We have reports on how the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] is informing the international community about the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which is quite different than the portrayal of the situation in Western mass media. To put it another way, UNPROFOR is far more objective. Why are the UNPROFOR reports not being published, since these are reports by the United Nations, supposedly an international and public organization based on equality? Thus, this one-sided approach and unanimity of the world media is being created.

There is another good example that will definitely be cited by our president. In January or February 1992, Mr. Butrus-Ghali in his report to the UN Security Council raised the issue of reconsidering the UN's role. One of the aspects contained in the report was his idea that the United Nations should shift the emphasis from its therapeutic role toward that of a preventive role. In other words, instead of waiting for wars, conflicts, or crises to break out, the United Nations should in some way work to prevent these conflicts, if possible. In other words, it is high time that the United Nations shift the emphasis from sanctions and punishment to positive incentives for countries when they abide by certain rules. It is our criticism that the West, and especially the United Nations, did not respond to the constructive efforts by President Cosic with equally constructive measures by abolishing some of the sanctions and so forth, but rather they continued to pursue this dead-end policy of sanctions. [passage omitted]

[Djuric] A meeting between President Cosic and [Croatian] President Tudjman is also being rumored in Geneva.

[Stojanovic] If our president is to meet with Mr. Tudjman—which Cosic is not opposed to at all—then this meeting would be an exchange of opinions, primarily on ways in which the Republic of Croatia and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia can use their influence to contribute toward the restoration of peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina. In my opinion, no more interstate negotiations will take place because as you remember, an interstate committee has been formed to deal with this. Regarding the political framework, our president does not have the freedom, nor does he believe that he should change the political framework that he defined earlier. This is especially so because we held elections. We need to create a new parliament, new government, and so forth. In my opinion, they will mostly discuss the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina, and we have plenty to say to the other side—for example, that it is high time they withdraw their regular troops from Bosnia-Hercegovina instead of constantly talking about some aggression of ours.

[Djuric] Thank you, professor.

[Stojanovic] Thank you.

General Sends Letter to Nambiar on No-Fly Ban

LD2712133192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1042 GMT 27 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The information service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff has been authorized to publish in full the letter which the chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav Army, Colonel General Zivota Panic, sent to UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] commander in Bosnia-Hercegovina General Satish Nambiar on 26 December 1992. The letter reads:

"Esteemed Mr. General,

"Some international factors are using the issue of a no-fly ban over former Bosnia-Hercegovina increasingly openly and inconsiderately as an excuse to use force, for revenge and to punish the Serbian people. The fact that this should be done by the decision and under the aegis of the UN makes it especially tragic. You will agree that reporting the truth about the events in the banned air zone has become a question of life and death for the people who could become the victims of such an insane move. I therefore maintain that the public and all those interested should be told that the UN secretary general, in his reports for the Security Council, has said that the majority of flights which he believed may have violated the no-fly ban referred to helicopters and were not registered as combat flights. However, in his letter to the Security Council on 21 December this year, the secretary general clearly indicated that the observers at Cazin airport were not allowed to exert control over cargo as planes take off or land.

"Furthermore, the report also specified it was a question of Antonov-2 planes. The report also gave details about the quantity of equipment, and said that in some cases the planes were arriving from Karlovac and flying to Zagreb's Pleso airport. A question, therefore, arises as to how the control over airports in Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina is exerted because it is a well-known fact that Cazin airport is used for supplying Muslim forces with arms and other military equipment on a large scale.

"I beg you to inform the UN secretary general about the content of this letter and see that all sides are treated in the same manner in cases where they violate the no-fly ban over Bosnia-Hercegovina."

Panic To Accept Clinton Invitation to Inauguration

LD2512095492 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0923 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—U.S. President-elect Bill Clinton has invited Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic to attend his presidential inauguration in Washington which, according to tradition, will be held on Wednesday, 20 January. The inauguration of U.S. Vice President-elect Al Gore will be held on the same day.

It is interesting that this is the first invitation to a Yugoslav prime minister to attend the inauguration of a U.S. President. Circles close to the federal premier have said that Milan Panic intends to attend the presidential inauguration in Washington.

Clinton's Stand on Balkan Crisis 'Still Vague'

LD2612214992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2112 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Washington, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—U.S. President-Elect Bill Clinton's stands on the Balkan crisis are still vague although he is succeeding George Bush in some twenty days.

Clinton's headquarters are still letting the Bush Administration draw the moves and it is doing so by increasingly radicalizing its policy on Serbia and Montenegro, a policy which may narrow down the Clinton administration's options as soon as he takes the helm.

Nothing became clearer after Clinton announced his foreign policy team early this week. The team will be headed by Warren Christopher, once the undersecretary of former foreign minister and current cochairman of the conference on Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance.

Christopher is considered a 'fantastic negotiator' just like Vance, but the hawks in the U.S. Administration have already complained that someone skillful in the field rather than the conference rooms is needed to treat the situation in the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic of Yugoslavia.

Some observers are of the opinion that choosing Christopher means that the State Department will from now on be the administrator of the White House's foreign policy.

The country has the right to hear from Clinton and his chosen ones as soon as possible on how far they are prepared to go in Yugoslavia. Is their aim to save lives in Bosnia—which is a moral imperative, or is their aim also to save the current Bosnian borders, which is not our moral imperative, THE WASHINGTON TIMES asked.

Serbia

Milosevic Issues Statement After Election Victory

AU2612180792 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1708 GMT 26 Dec 92

["Exclusive" statement by President Slobodan Milosevic to Belgrade RTB Television Network; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] Citizens of Serbia! I am honored by the trust that you have shown in me. You can be sure that I will carry out my duties the best I can in the interest of Serbia, all its citizens, and the nation itself.

These elections have an enormous significance for our country because they should mark the end of attempts to destabilize our republic from within. It is now everybody's duty to respect and acknowledge the will of the Serbian citizens.

The policy that we shall pursue has three priority tasks—above all, peace. We want to help contribute toward the restoration of peace in the former Yugoslavia and Bosnia-Hercegovina. We want to help make it a lasting peace; however to last, peace must be just. We will thus strive to see that this peace is realized through equal acknowledgement of the interests of all nations that live on this territory.

Our economy is also a priority task. We must work very hard to intensify our investment development, employ numerous unemployed people, and raise the standard of living. These are the most significant tasks that we will have to take on in the near future. I wish to assure the farmers that they will have the full support of their country.

The security and safety of our citizens and the struggle against crime and corruption are also among the three priority tasks. Citizens should know that in the circumstances which we have found ourselves—the encirclement that is shaken by numerous instabilities and proximity of battlefields—this country will have to strictly implement its laws. We cannot permit anyone's obstinacy to rule in our country. We must make sure that laws exclusively rule in this country. Our country can be strict, but it must also be just. We will have to do everything we can to eliminate any sort of crime and corruption in the interest of normal life in this country.

Generally speaking, our country has enormous potential for development. I am convinced that if we all work together, we will be able to exploit these advantages. It goes without saying that a better, more developed world of prosperity is our future.

With this thjought, I wholeheartedly greet you all and wish you a Happy New Year!

Panic Congratulates Milosevic on Election Victory

LD2612134292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 26 Dec (TANJUG)—Milan Panic, Federal prime minister and candidate for Serbian president, today sent the following message of congratulations to Republic of Serbia President Slobodan Milosevic:

"I congratulate you on your election as president of the Republic of Serbia. I am convinced that the democratic process, so strongly expressed at these elections, cannot be stopped by any means now, and that it will continue developing and strengthening to the benefit of the citizens and nations of Serbia and Yugoslavia."

General Panic, Others Congratulate Milosevic

LD2612205992 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1901 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Army General Chief of Staff Gen. Zivota Panic on Saturday [26 December] congratulated Serbia"s President Slobodan Milosevic on his reelection and said the Yugoslav Army was "obliged and ready to protect the vital, national and state interests at all times and in all places."

"At the time when the Serbian people is exposed to unjust and unprincipled pressures of some international factors and even blackmail, which is aimed against freedom, independence and dignity of the Serbian national being, winning the people"s confidence is a fact that all foreign and domestic factors should respect," said Gen. Panic in his telegram.

In another telegram of congratulations, President of the Serb Republic and leader of Bosnian Serbs Radovan Karadzic said that opting for Milosevic "The Serbian people and citizens of Serbia confirmed their dignity and determination not to accept a vasal position and dictate of the masters of the world"s new order."

On the occasion of his re-election as Serbia"s president, Milosevic received congratulations from President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) Dobrica Cosic and Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic, who was his main rival in the Serbian presidential elections on December 20.

A number of other political and public figures of Serbia and F.R. Yugoslavia also sent their congratulations to Serbia"s president.

Official Election Results—Milosevic Victorious

LD2512233292 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2157 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—According to the official and final results, Slobodan Milosevic will continue to fulfill the duties of president of the Republic of Serbia, having obtained the majority of votes cast in the extraordinary elections of 20 December, the republic electoral commission, which was entrusted with checking the election results, announced at a news conference this evening.

Of 188 municipalities in the republic Milosevic won in 169, while his main rival, Milan Panic, won in 19 municipalities.

The turn-out for presidential elections was 69.04 percent of the entire electorate; 2,515,047 voted for Milosevic, that is, 56.32 percent of all voters who had cast their votes and 39.67 percent of the total number of voters in the republic, including the ones who did not take part in the elections.

Milan Panic obtained 1,516,693 votes, that is, 34.02 percent of all votes cast and 23.92 percent of the total number of possible votes, had all voters taken part.

The third presidential candidate, Milan Paroski, gained 147,693 votes (3.31 percent); Dragan Vasiljkovic—Captain Dragan, 87,547 (1.97 percent); Jezdimir Vasiljevic, 61,729 (1.38 percent); Miroslav Milanovic, 28,010 (0.63 percent); and Blazo Perovic, 20,326 votes (0.46 percent).

According to Caslav Ignjatovic, chairman of the republican electoral commission, these are the official and final results of the presidential elections.

The republic electoral commission confirmed irregularities in 86 polling stations, and voting there was invalidated. However, a decision was passed not to repeat the voting because it is believed that this would not considerably alter the outcome of the elections due to a great difference between the first and second presidential candidates.

As for the elections for 250 seats in the Serbian Assembly, complete results were only obtained for three electoral units—Zrenjanin, Novi Sad, and Kragujevac. In a number of polling stations in the remaining six electoral units in Serbia results were invalidated, and voting will be repeated due to irregularities in the electoral procedure. However, according to the present situation the party representation in the Serbian Parliament is as follows: 101 seats were won by the Serbian Socialist Party [SPS], followed by the Serbian Radical Party [SRS], which gained 73 seats.

DEPOS came third with 49 seats, and the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians fourth, with nine seats in the parliament.

The Democratic Party gained seven seats, and the Group of Citizens from Kosovo and Metohija—represented by Zeljko Raznjatovic-Arkan—five seats.

The Serbian Peasants' Party will be represented by three deputies, while the Coalition of the Democratic Party and the Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina will have two. The least votes—one—were won by the Democratic Reformist Party of Muslims.

At its news conference this evening the republic electoral commission announced that voting in some polling

stations in the remaining six electoral units, where irregularities were noticed, could be repeated on 3 January or on another day should the electoral commissions in these units so decide.

DEPOS Lodges Complaint Over Election Process

LD2512062192 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1455 GMT 24 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Dec (TANJUG)—The Democratic Movement of Serbia [DEPOS] today lodged a complaint with the Republican Electoral Commission against the entire election process of Serbia.

DEPOS says in a statement that Serbian radio and television "blatantly violated" the law on election campaign by, above all, "drastically violating the principle of fair treatment of parties and their candidates."

DEPOS assesses that Serbian state bodies "actively denied the voting right" to citizens by striking out almost 10 percent of the electoral body. The complaint also cites cases of unsealed ballot boxes, preventing secret ballots due to the lack of screens at many polling stations and preventing DEPOS representatives from taking seats in electoral commissions.

DEPOS has established a series of other irregularities which undermined the election process, including both a surplus and lack of ballot papers at some polling stations and preventing soldiers from voting.

The statement cites illegal processing of election records by unauthorized municipal electoral commissions. According to DEPOS, this occurred due to "an illegal instruction by the Republican Electoral Commission" signed by Caslav Ignjatovic.

DEPOS has lodged several individual complaints of irregularities at some polling stations, to which it received no reply. DEPOS was thus prevented from lodging a punctual complaint with the Supreme Court of the Republic of Serbia, the statement concludes.

Democratic Party Calls For Election Nullification

AU2612143492 Paris AFP in English 1052 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (AFP)—The Democratic Party (DP), the second biggest Serbian opposition formation called for the cancellation of last Sunday's [20 December] elections because of a number of irregularities, the daily BORBA said Saturday [26 December].

"The electoral commission should, in law, announce the results of the elections 24 hours after receiving the reports from the polling stations, which have 72 hours (to post results)," DP Vice President Zoran Djindjic told BORBA.

Djindjic quoted the case of one Belgrade polling station where a DP member had managed to photocopy the vote tally report.

"According to this document, photocopied in the polling station itself, the Radical Party of Mr. Seselj (PRS, extreme right-wing) won one vote and the Socialist Party (PSS, ex-communist) 59 votes," said Djindjic.

"The document which arrived at the electoral commission gave 59 votes for the PRS and 154 for the PSS," he added.

The DP, which is to decide along with other opposition parties whether to refuse to take their seats won during the elections, is to complain to the electoral commission and the Supreme Court about the conduct of the elections, Djindjic said.

Voters in Serbia and Montenegro elected federal and republic parliaments during the December 20 poll, as well as presidents in the two constituent republics of the rump Yugoslavia.

Federal Prime Minister Milan Panic has also called for the results to be cancelled and that fresh elections be held after his failed bid to oust hardline nationalist Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. But officials have refused saying that Milosevic's margin was too great, despite any irregularities.

Official results gave Panic 34.02 percent of the vote to 56.32 percent for Milosevic, who is blamed by many in the international community for the war in neighbouring Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

Daily Says Elections Ended Single-Party Rule

LD2612174292 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1717 GMT 26 Dec 92

[Text] Belgrade, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—The early elections in Serbia, held on December 20, put an end to the single-party—the Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS)—rule, writes the Belgrade daily POLITIKA on Saturday [26 December].

"As compared to the 1990 elections, the ruling socialists lost a considerable number of votes and will have fewer deputies in parliament than the opposition," writes POLITIKA.

According to the unofficial results, the SPS won 101 seats (it had 195) in the 250-seat Serbian parliament.

The opposition extreme right-wing Radical Party, which had only one representative in Serbian parliament, now won 73 seats, while the "traditional opposition parties" won fewer seats than they had expected, but more than they had earlier—76, writes POLITIKA.

As for the setting up of a future government, the daily finds that four options are possible: A coalition government, a concentration government (representatives of all parties in parliament), a minority government (which the socialists would form although they do not have an absolute majority), and an expert government.

As for a possible coalition between the socialists and the radicals in parliament, POLITIKA recalls that, apart from "patriotism", the SPS and the Radical Party's programmes do not have anything in common. The daily

also writes that it would be "a political suicide of the SPS to declare itself a left-wing party."

According to POLITIKA, local politicians do not rule out a possibility that the newly elected authorities would "correct the policy they have pursued so far, and would make a turnabout, thus showing to the home and world public their goodwill for cooperation, without betraying national interests."

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, who was reelected in the early elections by winning 56.32 percent of the votes, will have a crucial role in this, writes POLITIKA. His major opponent Yugoslav Prime Minister Milan Panic received 34.02 percent of the votes.

"Many believe that only Milosevic could make a radical change without voters interpreting it as a betrayal of national interests," writes POLITIKA. The daily concludes that it "is hard not to believe that Milosevic's steps would greatly depend on the threatening messages he receives from the rest of the world."

Western countries and their media lay the blame on the Serbian people alone for the armed conflicts in the former Yugoslav territory and are calling for a multinational military intervention against Serbs.

While doing so, they neglect the causes of the war—the recognition of the former Yugoslav republics, which seceded from Yugoslavia with the use of force, and deprivation of the Serbian people in these republics of their right to decide whom they want to live with. The status of Serbs has been reduced to that of a minority in the former Yugoslav republics.

Papers View Options for Government Coalitions

LD2412142692 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1337 GMT 24 Dec 92

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, December 24 (TANJUG)—Judging by the still incomplete, unofficial results of early parliamentary elections held on Sunday [20 December], Yugoslavia and its Republic of Serbia will most probably have coalition governments.

According to unofficial returns, the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS), which has the most federal deputies, won 47 of Serbia's 108 seats in the federal parliament—30 seats are reserved for the other, smaller Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro—and 100 of the 250 seats in the Serbian parliament.

In the federal parliament, the SPS is followed by the Serbian Radical Party (SRS) with 33, the Democratic Movement of Serbia (DEPOS - a coalition of political parties and prominent individuals) with 21, Montenegro's ruling Democratic Party of Socialists (DPS) with 17, the Democratic Party (DS) with 9, and a coalition of Democratic Party and the Reformist Democratic Party of Vojvodina (RDSV) also with 9 seats.

In the Serbian parliament, coming after the SPS are the Radicals with 74, depos with 49, the Democrats with 10, the Democratic Community of Vojvodina Hungarians (DZVM - a party of the Hungarian national minority) with 9, a group of citizens with 5, the Farmers' Party with 3, and a coalition of Vojvodina democrats and reformists with 2 seats.

Since no party has absolute majority in either parliament, the media here engage in 'guesstimating' what parties could form possible coalitions.

President of the Democratic Party Executive Zoran Djindjic indicated on Tuesday that a new federal government could be a coalition of Montenegro's Democratic Party of Socialists, the DEPOS and the Democratic Party, writes the Belgrade daily POLITIKA.

In pre-election consultations, the three parties reached agreement to form a coalition government provided they won a sufficient number of seats in parliament.

The SPS did not declare itself on this matter before the elections, but—says POLITIKA—a conviction has formed in a section of the public that the Socialists and the Radicals will enter into a coalition, the election results permitting.

The statement by SPS spokesman Ivica Dacic, 'we know who does not want to form a coalition with us—the DEPOS,' was taken by journalists to mean a silent invitation to the democrats and the Montenegrin Democratic Social STS.

Later Djindjic denied it, saying that such a coalition was only a wish of the SPS.

The Montenegrin party's stand on this matter is not yet known.

POLITIKA mentions two possible solutions if the accord on a coalition government fails—a concentrated government, in which each party represented in parliament would have one member, or a government of experts, which, the paper says, 'would be a guarantee of Yugoslavia coming out of the present economic and politicul crisis.'

POLITIKA concludes by quoting from a statement which Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic gave to the NEW YORK TIMES before the elections in which he said that the new Yugoslav Government would be unstable and of short duration.

A possible SPS-SRS coalition is also indicated by the Belgrade daily BORBA, which points to 'many coinciding positions held by the two parties, especially so far as national and state interests are concerned.'

However, the paper believes that the Socialists would be 'happier if they could have the necessary absolute majority with the Democrats in both parliaments.'

BORBA considers federal-level coalition of Montenegro's Democratic Party of Socialists, the DEPOS and the Democratic Party unlikely, because its 'Serbian wing' (DEPOS and the Democrats) would be unable to win enough seats.

Montenegro

Commission Announces 'Final' Election Results

AU2512201392 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Dec 92

[Report by Jagos Stojanovic from Podgorica]

[Excerpts] Today's final report by the republican electoral commission confirms that Momir Bulatovic won 42.82 percent of the votes and Branko Kostic 23.74 percent in the 20 December presidential elections. These two candidates are way ahead in comparison with the other eight candidates. Since none of the candidates received the 50-percent-plus-one majority, a second round of elections will be held. [passage omitted]

As we have said, the final results—besides the already known figures—show that the majority of deputies' mandates went to the Democratic Party of Socialists and its candidates, who received 46 out of 85 seats in the republican parliament and 17 seats out of 30 in the Chamber of Citizens of the Federal Assembly. They are followed by the Peoples' Party, Liberal Alliance, and Reformists. In the race for the Federal Parliament, the Socialist Party of Montenegro came in second with five seats, followed by the Peoples' Party, and Radical Party with four seats each.

The ruling Democratic Party of Socialists maintained the lead in the local elections and won 18 out of 21 communes. In the republican parliament, we can see Momir Bulatovic, Svetozar Marovic, Milica Pejanovic, Risto Vukcevic, Milos Radulovic, and others. In the federal parliament, we can see, among others, Svetozar Marovic, Damjan Seckovic, Drago (?Sofranac), and so forth, as well as the leaders of some opposition parties—Novak Kilibarda, Slavko Perovic, Ljubisa Stankovic, and others.

The correspondent, however, must conclude that it is the nation, peace, and democracy that has won.

Macedonia

U.N. Advance Party Arrives in Skopje

LD2812144592 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1410 GMT 28 Dec 92

[Text] Skopje, Dec 28 (TANJUG)—Advance U.N. troops arrived in the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia on Monday [28 December], a U.N. representative has said.

A group of 33 of the 150-men Canadian battalion, which was to be deployed in Banja Luka, arrived in Skopje.

Canadian soldiers will be deployed along Macedonia's northern and western border and a 700-men Scandinavian battalion is to replace them in mid-February. A small part of the contingent will be deployed on the Macedonian-Albanian border near Debar.

Macedonia, which has not yet been internationally recognized, borders with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in the north and Albania in the west.

U.N. peace-keeping troops have come to Macedonia, at the request by President Kiro Gligorov, in order to prevent a possible spreading of the conflict from other parts of the former Yugoslavia.